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Society of American Indians



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Editor-General
ARTHUR C. PARKER



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VOLUME II

NUMBER I

The Quarterly Journal of the Society of American Indians

"The honor of the race and the good of the country shall be paramount"

JANUARY—MARCH, 1914

ARTHUR C. PARKER, Editor-General

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The Quarterly Journal of the Society of American Indians

The Quarterly Journal of the Society of American Indians is published every three months and is issued as the official organ of the Society.

The editors aim to make the Journal the medium of communication between students and friends of the American Indian, especially between those engaged in the uplift and advancement of the race. Its text matter is the best that can be secured from the pens of Indians who think along racial lines and from non-Indians whose interest in the affairs of the race is a demonstrated fact.

The Editorial Board has undertaken to carry out the purposes of the Society of American Indians and to afford the American Indian a dignified national organ that shall be peculiarly his own, and published independent of any governmental control.

The Editorial Board invites friends of the race to unite with the native American in providing the Journal with a high quality of contributions. Although contributions are reviewed as far as possible, the Journal merely prints them and the authors of accepted articles are responsible for the opinions they express. The ideas and desires of individuals may not be in harmony with the policy or expressed beliefs of the Society but upon a free platform free speech can not be limited. Contributors must realize that the Journal can not undertake to promote individual interests or engage in personal discussions. "The honor of the race and the good of the country shall be paramount."

The purpose of the Journal is to spread as widely as possible for the use of Indians, non-Indian friends, students, social workers and teachers, the ideas and the needs of the race, and to serve as an instrument through and by which the objects of the Society of American Indians may be achieved. We shall be glad to have the American press utilize such material as we may publish where it seems of advantage, and permission will be cheerfully granted providing due credit is given the Journal and the author of the article.

Authors and publishers are invited to send to the Editor-General, for editorial consideration in the Journal such work of racial, scientific or sociological interest as may prove of value to the readers of this publication.

All subscriptions and contributions should be sent to Arthur C. Parker, Editor-General, Barrister Building, Washington, D. C.

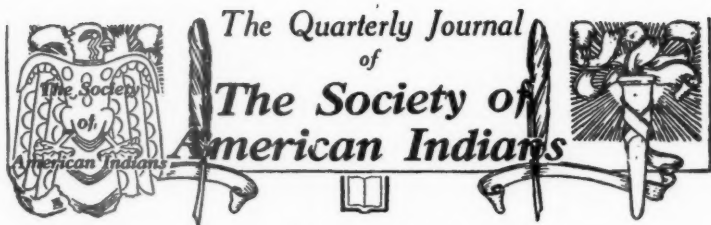


PLATE I



CHARLES R. DOXON (Onondaga)

President of the Six Nations Indian Temperance Society, Member of the Advisory Board S. A. I., and an automobile expert for a large concern in Syracuse, N. Y. Mr. Doxon is a Hampton graduate.



"The honor of the race and the good of the country shall be paramount."

VOL. II WASHINGTON, D. C., JANUARY-MARCH, 1914 NO. 1

Current Comment

BY THE EDITOR-GENERAL

The Political Maelstrom

No man can visit Washington in the interest of Indian affairs without being perplexed. Certain things seem clear at first, but deeper investigation renders these things more and more obscure; certain things appear obscure at first, but gradually appear more and more apparent.

Washington is full of contending men. Not every one will tell you what he stands for or what he is promoting. Yet it does not take long to discover several interests, each of which is pulling, pushing, sliding toward its desires. In Indian affairs there are many invisible wires, hidden pitfalls, and subtle restraints. Business and politics unite in various combinations difficult to analyze. The novice who comes with the idea that all men surely want justice for the red man is soothed by purring politicians, or skillful mercenaries, who explain their position very plausibly. Everybody seems good, everybody smiles, and, quoting Chief Homas from Colville, "Everybody, his mouth full of it, sugar."

It is all very well to be optimistic, but do not go to sleep on Indian affairs. Matters are at more of a crisis now than the layman realizes. Selfish forces now more than any time before, perhaps, are

seeking to becloud issues, create distracting discussions, to eliminate watchfulness and concerted resistance. As we said in our last issue, true friends must cling together, not for mutual protection, but for the mutual aim,—honesty and efficiency in Indian administration and a genuine uplift for the Indian.

Keen political minds are at work to control Indian interests, to remove supervision, to entrench themselves and promote their own ends. This is no open fight; it is an entangled, hidden one. Many good men will be deceived, many will awaken when it is too late, many will be led far away from real issues through created dissensions. There is an impending crisis that will result in good or evil for the red man. We can not tell the story now. We only warn; take nothing for granted, take time to investigate, act wisely and be vigilant.



***The Board of
Indian Commis-
sioners***

Once more we raise for discussion the topic of the Board of Indian Commissioners. We created serious offense in our last issue by failing to interpret our parable, and it was seized upon as a personal issue, which it was not. What we affirmed of the Board as a body, of its mechanical or structural organization was not to be predicated of the men who composed the board. Yet it was claimed we said the members were fossils because the system of the organization was old. We also claim that water is wet, yet neither oxygen, nor hydrogen is wet. We have no quarrel with this group of most estimable men. As a Society we have a primary object, "To promote and co-operate with all efforts looking to the advancement of the Indian." We are willing to co-operate with all useful measures.

It seems to the editor, however, that this Board is not an effective organization. When it was created there were few channels through which the government and the public might know the truth on Indian matters, for friends of the Indians had not then organized. To-day we find the case far different; there are many sources of information. The Board, it is true, is composed of great and philanthropic citizens who have been appointed by the President, but its members do not render any greater service, or perhaps as much, as independent individuals and organizations. Professor Moorehead has rendered conspicuous services, but he would without doubt have been equally active in the service of any other earnest organization.

We are questioning the need of continuing the Commission. We ask whether it has been demonstrated that the Board is really a vital factor. We ask whether the elimination of this Board would in any way defeat justice for the Indian, make administration of Indian affairs less efficient, or make it easier for grafters and land grabbers. We are honestly inquiring, and not quarreling. There is no feeling of personal rancour toward any Commissioner; on the contrary, there is a sentiment of warm admiration and friendship. Anything but such would be inconsistent with a broad-minded, impersonal view.

If we are now, after these many years, to have a Board of Indian Commissioners, why should the government stop there? Why not have an independent citizen commission for public lands, public contracts, public buildings, and for all the various governmental departments? Certainly such questions can be publicly discussed without prejudice.

We hope that if the Board continues to exist that it will do good; we hope that we will do good; we hope that the Bureau will do good. If we cannot do good we ought to be abolished. But to do good we must have the power to be effective.

There is a great struggle ahead. As Professor McKenzie pointed out at Mohonk two years ago, "There is a crisis in Indian affairs." We have reached an ending and a beginning. Redoubled efforts are needed to uphold that which is good. Any hand that has been associated with graft or ambition is only a signal for warning. Our organization, and no organization, must complain if leading members create suspicion and then suspicion falls on the inner councils of the organization. Forces that do not centralize confidence beget suspicion. This is as true of governmental departments and of congressional committees as it is of societies or boards. This Society is no exception of any rule. We must be criticised constantly if we are to know our faults, otherwise we cannot do the greatest good.



***The Heart of
the Full Blood***

All through official reports and even in private writings we are impressed with the expression "the full blood." There are many qualifying phrases, such as "the ignorant full blood," "the restricted full blood," the "non-progressive full blood" or the "pagan full blood." The intent of all such expressions is to cast reproach upon the full-

blood, native Indian. Whether consciously so or otherwise the person employing such terms seeks to belittle the capacity of the Indian of unmixed lineage. This is manifestly unfair, and leads to much injustice. The native Indian was not originally the object of pity, nor did his blood relegate him to abjection. If full bloods can be found who are mentally capable, then this should be a demonstration that white blood is not necessary to produce genius or competence. Inherited conservatism or conservatism fostered by one's family does not necessarily mean inferiority or lack of capacity. Indeed, such an Indian may be a far better man than the half-educated mixed blood who is neither Indian in his sympathies nor "white" in his attainments.

It is not a question of the degree of blood but the question of individual competence that should count in determining civic or social status. Some quarter bloods are far more incompetent than some full bloods.

There is among another class of critics an aversion to mixed bloods. To some, mixed bloods are of decidedly criminal tendencies. The "half breed" of the motion picture film is always pictured as a moral degenerate. All notions that the mixed blood is necessarily an inferior are wrong. It is not the racial combination or the national blood of either parent that produces depraved offspring. It is the diseased and immoral white man or woman uniting with a diseased and immoral Indian man or woman that produces inferior progeny. Good Indian blood and good white blood have produced some of the finest Americans who ever lived. Since the days of John Randolph of Roanoke no scholar has disputed this.

It is the manhood, the character, the usefulness of men that counts. It is his environment that determines his conservatism or progress, and not his racial blood.

The full blood has much to be proud of. He has every element and capacity for achievement. He has a mind and a soul of his own. A Cheyenne chief, writing the editor, says, "The white man does not know of the things we had, but which are passed away. He does not know what it means to be an Indian. I think, all day I think my thoughts, but they are not the white man's thoughts." No mere slave, no mere imitator, is the man who loves creations of his own race and clings to them more than he does to his own life. There is an element of character there, a loyalty that forever bars that man from the title inferior. He has the soul of the poet and the heart of a patriot, even if he has no taste for commerce.

***The Dixon
Expedition of
Citizenship***

We have read much concerning the great knowledge gained by Rev. J. K. Dixon during his "expedition of citizenship" to the Indian. We believe that his speeches would be highly illuminating to the investigator and reveal the astounding egotism of the man. The best of testimony shows that the main events of the journey were subordinated to the taking of pictures. Rev. Dixon would stop his speeches or wave his arms at the command of the film-box operator. The speeches were made, we should judge, to the whites and not to the Indians. As a rule neither progressive nor representative Indians had anything to do with the expedition ceremonies. It must have been a trying time for the eloquent ex-clergyman, for the Indians were suspicious and balked again and again.

As for what "the expedition" learned, it is manifest that a few hours on each reservation will not reveal all the affairs and all the conditions of those reservations. And yet Rev. Dixon's letter to the President of the United States, the Secretary of the Interior, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and the people of the United States states:

"For the first time the nation may have the full, unvarnished truth, at first hand, from a neutral authority—the truth about lands,—the truth about starvation,—the truth about education,—the truth about health,—the truth about intemperance,—the truth about unjust allotments,—the truth about irrigation and water rights,—the truth about agriculture,—land that may be tilled and land that is desert,—the truth about the industrial problem, supervising farmers who do not supervise,—the truth about the extent of the Indian police control,—the truth about a waste of funds, the open market versus bids,—the truth about warehouse folly,—the truth about the vexed question of half-breeds,—the truth about blanket orders for school supplies, a failure to recognize climatic conditions,—the truth about the abolition of Indian ceremonies and regalia,—the truth about the supreme struggle for existence,—and the truth about the actual living conditions of the Indian."

Where, oh, where, has every one been, that through the merits of a six months' trip this information has *for the first time* been made available! Of what use is an Indian Bureau, an Ethnological Bureau, an Indian organization, where they have been so blind?

Mr. Rodman Wanamaker's aim to do something historic, something magnificent for the native American, is a worthy patriotic idea, and yet it has been drawn into so much disrepute by methods

that smack of fakery that persons who know the expedition's real story are aroused to resentment.

To form a climax a bill that radiates the diction of Rev. Dr. Dixon has been introduced by Senator Penrose, seeking to create a sort of commission based on the "expedition."

We hope we are all wrong in our estimate of Rev. Dr. Dixon. We hope we are wrong in our estimate of the astonishing assumptions of "the expedition." To this end we invite an investigation of what the government itself has to say about this expedition. The government has a report that should neither be hidden nor kept out of print. Major McLaughlin, representing the Interior Department in the Indian Bureau, followed the fortunes, or misfortunes, of "the expedition." We wish to know what he reports. If the Penrose bill, which seems largely a good-natured joke, ever comes up for discussion, surely Inspector McLaughlin's report will be needed as evidence by the Senate and the House. And yet we read something like this:

"I took the flag in my hands, I ordered the Indians to bow their heads, I dedicated the Indians to the flag; I dedicated the flag to the Indians."

The "I" was Mr. Dixon, an eloquent orator, a man with much sentiment, and yet a man unfortunately placed in a position requiring infinite tact. If the expedition has resulted in confusion to the Indian, in embarrassment to Mr. Wanamaker, in astonishment to the intelligent man of Indian affairs, it has to a greater degree injured the unfortunate leader of the expedition, and we are sorry.

If our conclusions are wrong the records and stenographic reports of Inspector McLaughlin will undoubtedly set us straight.

But, perhaps we are right. Perhaps our estimates are very mild indeed.



**Fourth Conference
at Madison, Wis.,
October 6-10**

Through the invitation of President Van Hise, of the University of Wisconsin, the Society of American Indians will hold its Fourth Conference in Madison, Wisconsin, and under the auspices of the university, October 6-10, 1914. This great educational institution is one of the most notable in the entire United States. It has evolved a wonderful system of university extension, and carries its benefits to every citizen of the State. This is especially true in the fields of agriculture, education and social service. The specialists on the applied sciences

at the university are the recognized State experts. The university forms the brain center of the commonwealth. The Wisconsin idea is now famous throughout America, and its unique plan of service is known world-wide. All the universities in States bordering on or near Wisconsin are inspired to follow the example of Wisconsin.

The Society of American Indians can have no better academic setting for its fourth annual conference of Indians and their friends, and we not only feel grateful for the invitation of the university, but honored by it. And yet, there must be something in the Society and in its aims and policy that inspires great organizations and institutions to give us their friendship. We might have followed a course that would have forever barred us from the doors of scholarly halls. Selfish ambition might have destroyed our usefulness, but fortunately, we have chosen an unselfish course. We live to give, and not to get; we labor for the race and the nation, and not for ourselves.

The Conference will have as its local organizers Professor Charles E. Brown, of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin and Chief of the Museum of the Archeological Society, and Vice-President W. J. Kershaw of our Society.



***An Awakening
in Methods of
Indian Education***

Much attention is now being devoted to the discussion of Indian Education. Advocates of the various methods are discussing their plans in addresses before conferences or in articles in educational magazines.

Mr. Henry Roe-Cloud had convincingly called attention to the fact that the Indian schools of the country do not fit their graduates to enter the high schools in their localities, and that time is lost in preparing for high school entrance. He believes that all Indian schools supported by the Federal Government should have a standard curriculum so that a pupil might enter the schools of the country without conditional requirements. Mr. Roe-Cloud advocates the setting aside of an institution in which, for a period of years, Indian students may be trained through the high school grades. Mr. Roe-Cloud believes that the proportional number of college graduates of Indian blood should be as great, or at least half as great, as that of the white race,—that is to say, one in every thousand of population. We do not believe that the idea is to establish a free institution where the pupil is to feel no effort for self-support.

There are some who object to this plan on theoretical grounds by saying that the public schools and colleges of the land are open to Indians as freely as to whites. This is answered by the argument that while this is true, as a matter of fact Indian students do not enter such institutions except in very limited numbers, far too limited to provide the inspiration that the red race needs. This is due to the home environment of the Indian, his reservation and tribal hindrances. To offset these handicaps and to provide the leadership and incentive to progress that every race needs, we understand, is the idea of the advanced school.

There are some strong objections to an advanced Indian school, and a number of advocates set forth the policy of sending as many Indian children to public schools as may be found in circumstances to enter. Instead of providing \$175 for the education of the pupil in a Federal Indian school, the idea would be to furnish such an amount as might be necessary to send the pupil to a public school in the vicinity of the child's home. In some cases this would work admirably, but in other cases it would be a failure. As a plan this is the ideal policy, but ideal conditions among Indians are needed to meet it.

It stands to reason that a student in an Indian school ought to be so graded that he might step from any grade of that school into the same grade in a public school, but this is not the usual case. If it should be found to be true in some instances you would find generally that the boy or the girl would refuse to leave the government school and enter the public school, even if paid to do it. The reason is based upon the inbred pride of the human race which makes it unbearable for a young man or woman nearing the twenties to sit in primary classes with children seven or eight years younger. This is because the Indian school pupil is four to ten years behind the pupil in a public grammar-grade school. This is due to the Indian school system, and to reservation environment, more than to individual lack of capacity.

Several most valuable discussions on the Indian school have appeared in recent numbers of the *Red Man* of Carlisle. In the January issue Superintendent Friedman published his views, and in the March number Supervisor Pears published his address, given before the Philadelphia local conference of the Society.

The question of education is a vital one, and we are glad that there is a lively discussion. The design of our Plank 3, third annual conference platform, is to stimulate thought that will lead to action consistent with progress, and therefore with human needs.

*Some of Our
Peculiar
Principles*

The Society of American Indians has some peculiar principles. Before it reared itself as a structure its potential members had dug a deep foundation. Once organized, it continued to dig until its critics believed it would expire. Its deep foundation and its avowed lofty principles could not be understood. Failure was predicted. "It will soon blow over," came the answer to our appeal.

We have not yet finished laying our walls, but we have more and greater friends than two years ago, or even one year ago. The friend is gladdened, the foe dismayed, and the critic hastens to give our appeals a more serious regard.

Every great structure that is to endure must dig its foundation deep and lay its walls upon the rock. It is a most instructive thing to watch the growth of a twenty-story office building. For months a swarm of men, hundreds of them, do nothing but dig into the sand, the clay, and rock. Hundreds cart away the excavated material. Deeper and deeper they go until the earth is penetrated for fifty or sixty feet. Then comes the laying of walls of iron, steel and cement. The scoffer passes by and remarks, "Thought they were going to build a sky-scraper, but it looks as if they were tunneling to China." When the building arises, its steel girders are quickly placed in accord with a plan drawn long before a spadeful of earth was dug, or a beam swung into position. Brick and terra-cotta are reared over the framework as if by magic and cemented firmly in a common mass. The actual rearing of the building often takes less time than the hewing of its foundation. But the building stands as a monument to man's intelligence. It is a safe structure. There is a Hebrew parable about buildings built upon sand that cannot stand when the winds blow and the rains beat down.

Another peculiar principle held by the Society is the maintaining of a "free platform." We are afraid of no earnest man with an unselfish message. He will ever find with us an opportunity to say what he believes is right and just and merciful, as a policy in the making of men. No man, therefore, need shrink from speaking at our conferences because he believes himself out of harmony with other speakers.

A third strange principle is that none of our officers holds his position for the mere honor of that position. Each man is in office for the good he can do and for the work he can do. Not one has any material advantage to gain, no money to make and no material end in sight for himself. Our officers constantly admonish one another, urge one another, suggest how better work may be done,

criticise each other,—all in a friendly manner, frankly and in sincerity,—and without a single personal feeling, all work in harmony “for the honor of the race and the good of the country,” and “to promote and co-operate with all measures looking to the advancement of the Indian in enlightenment.” More than that, we believe that any officer would step out of his office with good grace and a cheerful heart, if he found himself a detriment to these high principles. Not every man can inspire confidence or unite the scattering forces of a great cause, and it is not necessarily against a man's character that he does not have this ability. Some of our hardest workers have no office, yet they spend time and money and brain power. Men like Vincent Natalish, Dr. Carlos Montezuma, both Apaches, and Hon. Gabe Parker, Dennison Wheelock, and many others have no official standing save as members, but each has spent his tens and his hundreds that we might prosper. Likewise, your officers give to their utmost of their means. Perhaps three, alone, last year contributed a thousand dollars. And finally the many individual members from Maine to Oregon give what they are able. A prominent educator said a few days ago that the Society of American Indians, with one exception, was the only Society whose members came to a national conference *at their own expense*. Can you see how deep the interest is?

Will a Society building upon such a foundation withstand the storms? Is it not then true that from now on the Indian problem will be solved from the inside as well as the outside, and that by mutual effort, from without and within, the red man will take his place increasingly as a useful, producing factor in the life of the country?



***How Shall We
Know the
Statesman?***

There is a great gulf fixed between true statesmanship and mere politics. Yet the politician thrives better these days than does the statesman. The reason is apparent. The world is speed mad. Rapid traffic, speed in action, quick results, hasty conclusions, rapid-fire promises, all lead in the end to disaster. Yet men willingly hold out their ears to the next man who cries, “I am the Messiah; I will save you!” And the disappointed common people cry out, “Why should public servants forget the purpose for which they are honored and entrusted the public welfare?” We answer, simply because they remember better *self-interest*, and so in promoting self-interest, *they forget public interest*, and while they thrive, the public suffers. The

alderman, the mayor, the governor or the congressman who does this, is not a loyal citizen, or an honest public servant. He is a political buccaneer. He is what Ross calls the "criminaloid." The official who steadily keeps before him the highest interest of the men he serves is the statesman. No political makeshift will suit him, and neither the losing of friends nor the making of foes can alter his high purpose, for the great end is greater than the means, and more to be guarded than self or immediate interests. The statesman looking toward that end builds for all time. The politician seeking "to make a show" builds for the moment only. The politician will fight to save himself and his interests; the statesman will not fight for self or self-interests, for he has merged himself and his interest into the common interest, and for that alone he fights. He remembers that he who would find his life must lose it in the common cause, but that he who would seek out of that common cause to find himself shall lose himself. These old axioms are as true and as workable as are the rules of mathematics. Who is there, for example, that will dispute the statement of Chief Henry Roman Nose, who said at the Denver Conference, that if all men would follow the "golden rule" there would be no Indian problem?

The followers of that rule, whether Christians, Hebrews, Mohammedans or sun-worshippers, are statesmen who build not for now, but for eternity.

It seems that there has been too much politics and too little statesmanship in our "Indian policy." Many men have builded for a showing, to get results, to make fine reports, to justify their jobs, to protect *special* or selfish interests, and, all too often, have forgotten that the *ultimate* welfare of the Indian, as a useful citizen, was the great task. Yet an immediate result was sought,—but just as a poisonous stimulant arouses without strengthening a patient, so the Indian was agitated and poisoned without being brought to healthy activity. The few who served well and with lofty purpose too often were condemned, hampered or ousted, if not materially ruined. They saw the outcome to themselves, but saw more keenly the need of apostles of truth and righteousness.

Until the feudal spirit of legislators and leaders loses itself in the spirit of co-operation for the common good, we shall ever find men who use position and power as a perch from which to prey upon their fellow men.

Yet to the bewildered voyager the song of the harpie is sweeter than the hoarse cry of the fog-horn, and though one warns, yet the siren strains of the harpie lure men to the rocks. The Indian has

learned to distrust almost every voice that calls or warns, yet because the politician, the grafter, the schemer, promise more, and hold out glittering hope, the untrained Indian, knowing not how to discriminate, listens to his voice most often, and finds himself wrecked upon the rocks.



***The Idea of
Leadership***

Among primitive races leaders arise; among barbarous people leaders assume power or are chosen by the people; among civilized peoples leaders of all sorts arise or are chosen. The presence of danger and the realization of a common interest demands the functions of a leader. A band of men without leaders is a mob, but with competent leaders this same mob may become an army. It is a strange but true fact that in order for any race to progress there must be great obstacles to overcome. There must be danger, worry, enemies and warfare of one sort or another. *The human brain is only kept awake by conflict. In its desperate effort to overcome dangers and destroy enemies the mind grows and points the way to victory. The brain of a race lies in its leaders. The race must follow its leaders.* If it refuses, it must follow the fate of a sick man whose brain is keen, who knows where to find the cure for his trouble, but whose legs refuse to carry him to it. The mass of people are like unto limbs and body; the leaders are the brains of the people. Alas, the Indian people are denied leaders who shall form the brain of their race! There is, it is true, danger and enemies to overcome, but a paternal system forms an artificial brain. The Indian is helped to spend his money and he is helped to think. This is the death of the race, the curse of progress, the violation of a primary right of man to struggle for existence. There can be no leaders for such a people. If some chance to arise they are not accepted by the Indian or they are discredited by the "powers that think for us." The Indian must see through this violation of human right; he must find in his very plight a danger demanding leadership. He must look beyond himself and see his brother Indians of other tribes, and in their danger he must see his common interest. There must be leaders; leaders must be followed. And leaders must be unselfish; they must be ready to give all and ask nothing, nor even expect gratitude. Let the Indian's brain awaken and be kept active by the conflict. Then there will be the victory.

The Editor's Viewpoint

A Survey of the Problem—Its Elements and Its End

A Survey of Contributing Elements

In the confusion of details it is sometimes difficult to understand what the ruling principles are. We have a perplexing problem on our hands called the "Indian question." It is hedged about by so many details, great and small, that even the greatest of minds are puzzled.

Various remedies are brought forth and urged with vigor. On one hand we hear that "it is merely a question of business administration;" eminent legalists say it is only a matter of adjusting the law and meteing out justice; others arise to tell us that contact and assimilation will rapidly cure all ills, all injustice, and will furnish the solution of the question; others urge religion, others industry, and still others education. Each champion puts particular stress upon his particular doctrine of racial salvation.

A simple survey of the problem reduces it to a few pointed facts and reveals the contributive elements which we wish, before proceeding further, to review.

First, we have a great continent, comprising the Western Hemisphere. It was inhabited by a race not known to Europeans or Asiatics (except perhaps in a vague traditional way to certain individuals). These inhabitants claimed to own, by right of possession and habitation, all the land so occupied and possessed by them. These native peoples were not all alike in all respects. There were hundreds of languages, and thousands of dialects. Many tribes knew nothing of each other. Many tribes regarded other tribes as enemies, and sought by every means to exterminate these foes and to conquer their territories. Only a few tribes organized into confederacies, and there were only a few centralized governments. Dozens of chiefs, all acknowledging blood kinship and speaking the same stock language, might rule, loosely, dozens of tribes, each claiming individual rights, but there was no binding allegiance to any central authority. These people therefore had no political cohesion. There was no law providing for a general government of large numbers of people, except in a few isolated instances. Each group of people, or tribe, however, knew its boundaries. There is a certain sense in which each had its province or country. Certain confederacies were formed, as the Iroquois, and to the south pow-

erful monarchies, as those of the Incas and the Aztecs, arose. Each tribe believed that it had the right, when impelled by desire or necessity, to acquire the territory of its enemies. Thus, as in early Europe, boundaries were frequently shifted. There was, therefore, a belief in occupation by right of conquest. It is to be seriously doubted, however, that the North American Indians were at constant warfare one tribe with the other. So-called "wars" were probably more in the nature of feuds, and their battles small. There were, very likely, few great wars. The confusion caused by the white invasion shortly after the opening of the sixteenth century pushed tribe upon tribe and precipitated a general upheaval of war among the tribes.

Our second consideration is that the territory held by each tribe, "nation" or stock was in excess of its requirements. A great tract was only desired "to put distance between us and our enemies," to provide an area in which to hunt game animals and in which to find sites for a changing abode. As to the right of occupancy many tribes believed that "the earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof," and that it might not be sold or given away, any more than the air or the heavens. Man only acquired the right to occupy. Most tribes believed that their ancestral domain was nominally theirs by prior right of occupation, though another might occupy it later. At the same time, most of them believed in the power of arms, and ruled by that right.

Third. Soon after the voyages of Christopher Columbus, the American continent began to attract exploring parties from Europe. The original idea was to exploit the new continent and carry back the riches to Europe. Then the idea of settlement came. It was a good country in which to live. Men who wished to flee from tyranny, or from political and religious persecution, hastened to America that they might escape that which they could not overcome. But a greater though different struggle was presented. They must overcome a wilderness, conquer its peoples, bring about civic safety and develop the resources they found.

The aboriginal inhabitants, the so-called Indians, thus were forcibly introduced to the peoples from Europe. The interests of the two races so met, the red and the white, almost at once became divergent. Although the Indians of the northeast coast and as far south as the Carolinas at first welcomed, cradled and fed the pale strangers, giving them shelter and territory, the Indians soon realized that they had welcomed an unmeasured foe. They discovered that the white skins had come determined to possess

by any ingenious method the land that the red skins occupied. The methods by which the invading white race possessed, held or acquired that which they wanted were new and terrible. To the red men these methods were the extreme creations of intellect, sophistry and material power. The methods were money, goods, treaties, guns, knowledge.

Now, the white men merely desired to possess the land because they saw within it vast resources that might be developed, to their enrichment and happiness. They could gradually clear away the forests, build increasingly comfortable homes, carry on commerce with Europe, dig mines and quarries, trade in merchandise and furs and govern the new land as their own. To each nation there came dreams of a new country for an old nationality; there arose New Spain, New France, New England, Nova Scotia, and New Netherlands, all colonies, but containing within themselves the germs of new nations. To establish such colonies and carry out such ideals meant that somehow the land itself must be torn from the grasp of the native Indians.

Fourth, the European had learned that a small tract of land properly developed might support a large population. So here in America the European found his great room for expanding. Here was room for an overflowing population. The native American Indians alone stood in the way; he did not seem to need so much land. They were called demons, a cursed race, savages and "barriers to civilization," and as such were exterminated by thousands wherever possible. European diseases and vices swept away thousands more, for the physical natures of these natives had not developed a hereditary resistance to disease and alcohol. Native diseases had not been numerous, and there were few artificial vices.

For two hundred and fifty years the white race fought back the red race, killing where possible, poisoning by disease and debauching by vices. The result was largely physical and psychological demoralization. A man smarting under the sense of outraged justice, sick in body, crushed in spirit and poisoned by drugs, may be expected to look with a certain degree of hostility upon the claims of the successful, powerful invading race.

The white race, in its haste and thoughtlessness, committed many grave crimes against the God of nations. It forgot the mission of power and abused that power so that a human race, the red men, became a broken, almost spiritless mass of dependents. Strong efforts were made by certain missionaries, societies and individuals to help the Indians to a knowledge of civilization and to protect the

Indians from injustice, but these beneficent forces never had the moral support of the white race, as a body.

To-day the great American nation does not war upon the natives who remain. A most highly organized bureau looks after them as wards and dependents, as "perpetual inhabitants with diminutive rights." Great missionary bodies, societies and rights associations represent the moral force and the conscience of the nation.

These isolated groups of native peoples who never have been made to understand the consistency of civilization, and who are now engaged in a mighty struggle for physical life itself, therefore constitute the problem. To the white race this problem is "What shall we do with them to give them justice?" To the red race the question is, "What shall we do with ourselves to regain individual independence, competence and usefulness among men?"

*The Spirit of the
Two Races*

With the red race there is much that must be forgotten, lest motives arise from historical instead of present day considerations. Memory of past injustice or of a past life must not stop present progress. To the red race enough knowledge has now come, at least, to teach the necessity of an adjustment to modern conditions.

The white race will have much to remember. With the resource and power that has come to the white race has come, responsibility. There must be an increasingly developed sense of the need of restitution. The supplanted red race cannot have its ancient ways or ancestral domain restored; that would not be restitution. But it must have provided for it now that of which it was robbed in the centuries gone by,—the power of self-support, self-protection and the enjoyment of happiness. The problems of tribal government, of lands and trust funds, are not the real problems. The ultimate problem is how to restore the red race to the position of a useful, happy people, once more thrilled by the impulse that ambition and industry give to mankind.

The general feeling regarding the Indians and their remaining possessions is one of passive sympathy, yet characterized by an active desire to profit as much as possible wherever possible. There are thousands of notable individual exceptions, and even organizations arise to express positive sympathy and to hold over the Indian a protecting arm. The government has a special bureau expressly for the administration of Indian affairs, so that the intent of conscientious men and of the State itself is honest; but to a great body of citizens, seeing a chance for profit, every form of "business sagacity" is used to obtain the lands and monies so easily to be had.

***Treaties with
Indian Tribes***

When the European colonists of North America found it expedient in their dealings with the native Americans, they drew up treaties, obtaining through them certain claims and concessions. The Indians probably never drew up a treaty. The theory or assumption of the colonists seems to have been that the various groups of Indians were stable nations, and that a treaty with them was therefore equitable. Let us consider first what a nation is. A nation is a group of men having common interests, possessing a fixed territory and governed by a recognized ruling power. There is a distinction between a "people" and a "nation." A "people" is a mass of men who through gradual development through a considerable period of time, create for themselves a definite type of life (or culture) and form a society (or social organization) that differentiates them from all other "peoples," their material culture and social organization descending as a fixed inheritance. A nation is a political body brought into being by the impelling force of common interests of government. Parts of several peoples may form a nation. It is not always true or necessary that a nation have one blood or one language, though this is an advantage. A nation has its own personality, its own spirit and its own ambitions, for it is a collective personality. *A nation is presumably able to govern itself, to enforce its own rights among other nations and to see that its contracts with external nations are observed.*

It is very likely that when the Federal Government first entered into treaties with Indian tribes or nations, that it believed the tribe more or less able to make armed resistance to any violation of a treaty. An Indian treaty pledged the integrity and honor of the United States to give or insure certain fixed rights. It was usually made because the white race wanted something, but occasionally bloodshed and warfare indicated that the Indians wanted a certain right kept inviolate. So it was expedient to frame a treaty, and certain things that never should be incorporated in a "treaty" were granted, such as cloth, trinkets, salt, etc., and chimerical promises to last "as long as the grass grows and the waters run," i. e., "forever."

The enormous development and growth of the new American nation soon made treaties with Indian tribes ridiculous farces. No Indian tribe could hope to enforce such provisions as were beneficial to it. Any attempt to assert independent nationality or to make an armed resistance was met with an overwhelming opposition. The white race learned that it could absolutely crush or extermi-

nate an Indian tribe, if given time. Indian tribes, however, stung by the bitterness of fate, fought with a fury and effectiveness that has no parallel in history. They would not lie down and die simply because die they must, eventually.

The folly of the treaty system was seen during the administration of President Grant, when it was abandoned for a "contract system." Indian tribes, in spite of themselves, gradually lost the force of their tribal autochthony. In the presence of civilization their social organization began to crumble. They were no longer nations, but dependent tribes, living upon the mercy of a dominant power, the Federal Government. They were not represented in that government, therefore, to the citizens of the country, Indian rights were not respected, except where it was expedient. Thus was the political status of the red men confused; thus were rights obtained from them by mock ceremony and subterfuge, and thus eventually were all their natural and granted rights infringed upon by the stronger nation which had contracted with them. The people refused to respect the treaties made by their government. Citizens constantly infringed on treaty rights, violated every moral obligation, despite the admonitions of good men and the warnings of the government. The Indians were confused by such action. Their tribal governments were accused of weakness and ineffectiveness, yet here was a civilized government, highly organized, yet unable to make its citizens obey.

Nations have certain primary rights, interference with which is tyranny. A nation has the right to its own language. Civilized nations recognize this, *e. g.*, see the Austrian fundamental law of December 21, 1867, Article 19: "All tribes in the nation have equal rights, and each has an inviolate right to maintain its nationality and language." This does not say that it might not be better to learn the language of the governing forces. Certain nations have several languages, spoken by different states or peoples, as Switzerland, which has German, French and Italian cantons.

Nations have a right to their own customs, providing these folkways do not conflict with morality or the rights of the government. Nations have a right to their own laws, if these laws are in harmony with the principles held by the ruling governmental forces, and do not work harm. A nation has a right to its own arts, its morals and its intellectual creations. Bluntschili, the German economist, writes: "Men can have no juster cause for resistance to tyranny than defense of nationality." Quoting Niebuhr, he continues:

"Common nationality has higher claims than the political relations which unite or separate the different nations of a race. Grammar, language, manners, tradition and literature constitute a fraternal bond which parts them from foreign tribes and makes union with the foreigner against their own tribe a crime."

Indian tribes, in resisting the forces of a civilization that they could not understand, only defended a natural right regarded as primary in human society.

The aim of certain independent social forces
**Can "Civilization" and of the government is to bring the native
Be Hastened?**

American Indian into a proper understanding of civilized life in order that both the white and the red races may benefit. No nation in all history ever set itself to such a task with greater deliberation or with so great an organized force. These great organized forces, pushing forward with ceaseless zeal, this systematic attempt to digest and assimilate a race of men, leads to a feeling that progress is not commensurate with effort. In undue haste to see achieved results rapidly accomplished the government is accused of inefficiency and lack of understanding, and the Indian charged with ultra-conservatism and incapacity. His tribal consciousness and slow adjustment to what the white race considers important elements are regarded as unfortunate and indicative of inferiority. "The ignorant full blood" is a common, yet insulting, expression where it links ignorance with the full blood as a necessary quality.

For purposes of equity we wish to examine into the justness of these charges, basing our comparison on the time taken by dominant European races to assimilate and standardize their conquered peoples, their aborigines or diverse native elements. The Greeks, the Romans, the Germans, the English have all had race problems, but none of them succeeded in pursuing the methods now used by American "civilizing forces."

In America we have a mixture of races or peoples organized into a State or nation. The nation rests upon a base of European civilization, but has largely expanded its European elements. English-American civilization is the dominant power and tends to rapidly assimilate all other elements, merging all racial elements into one. Ancient examples are the Latinizing of the Roman Empire of the West and the Hellenizing of the East. The Belgian State of to-day rests upon the Walloons, and its capital city is a French center, and so Flemish culture is Gallicized by force of social pressure, but it yet retains a distinctive nature. Russia seeks to

force the Poles to become Muscovian, and America seeks to transform her aborigines into Anglo-Americans. The success of all such efforts at transforming a people rests upon the superiority in education, resources and activities of the dominant race. A nation of high spirit can retard the spread of foreign civilization, as, for example, Persia and early Germany prevented the spread of the Latin and Greek cultures beyond their natural limits. After a thousand years Great Britain has not entirely conquered her racial differences. England, though not much larger than the State of Pennsylvania, has not yet drawn all the dialects of the shires into one. Wales, though for centuries in contact with England, has a nationality that is not yet suppressed. To the north, the Scotch differ from the English, holding on to their national customs and keeping alive their national spirit. Scotland is not yet entirely Anglicized. To the west is the Emerald Isle. The Irish still are Irish, and the spirit of Irish nationality is yet at active flame. All the British aborigines hold on to the Gaelic tongue and revere their national traditions. Even the tribal spirit of Germany still lives. Tribal consciousness is even now an important political factor at times. The internal differences of the German tribes has exercised a mighty influence in the formation of the German Empire. The ancient German constitution was simply a peace-pact between the Teutonic tribes. Even to-day tribal spirit is invoked in Germany for political purposes, and prevents a closer knitting of the empire.

England to-day is a blood combination of Normans, Vikings, Angles, Saxons, Picts, Scots, Kelts and Britons. Tribal allegiance even yet runs high, but the English people, combining their common needs, have united into a nation that has long been a world power. There is a vital common interest. An Englishman, a Scotchman, an Irishman and a Welshman will fight together for the Union Jack, but they will not dance a jig together on a saint's day. Nations, therefore, recognize the fundamental right of men to racial pride. It begets incentive, it makes men do great things for great causes. It is the backbone, the stimulant, the life of ambition. It cannot be crushed without ruining or killing off every member of a race.

Neither the ancient world nor the modern world has ever assimilated completely a people worth while. True justice and true national success can come only by bringing to each tribe or race the great fact that there is a common interest and a common ideal for which all must work.

This can be done for the Indian. His spirit need not be crushed in order to civilize him. He need not be condemned for an inordinate pride in his race, nor for loving its traditions. Every encouragement to adjust himself must be given; a man's fighting chance is needed, not a child's coddling. His short schooling in comparison with others shows no elements wanting in his capacity. Let neither the government nor societies be discouraged with the rate of assimilation.

A Real Civilization Needed True civilization consists not so much in a single language, a single system and similar customs as it does in the altruism of the people, their thrift and their development of the sciences. Ignorance of nature's laws means a barbarous culture, despite the advancement of the fine arts and the development of architecture. Side by side with science must grow a practiced system of ethics based on a just and merciful consideration of the rights of other persons and other peoples. We only have a right to insist that men be useful and that their useful activities bring to them true happiness. Civilization is not such where it will tolerate the existence of ignorant, inactive or miserable men. Human creatures must be positive forces if they are to radiate healthful joy and be useful. When the Indians (or any race) are made happy because they are useful, there will be no problem; there can be none. Human happiness is the most precious thing given unto living creatures. Races, nations, organizations, individuals, who do not seek to produce or promote happiness in others are just as far away from civilization as they contribute to the misery of others. Such destroyers of the ultimate ideal are the real barriers to human progress and to the realization of the divine ideal for human kind. The constructive forces are those that lead men to a knowledge of nature's laws, to their use and which, regarding all men as kindred, brothers, friends, come into a sympathetic relation with them, so that the happiness made possible by knowledge is carried out through altruistic ethics.

What the Red Man Must Learn So far we have discussed in a brief general way the factors of development that should be considered by the white race in its endeavor to absorb and "civilize" the Indian. The great power and resource of the white race in America have given it, and every man of it, an enormous responsibility, for with power and knowledge comes duty. The white American owes the red American an opportunity. This must be realized, and is realized increasingly through governmental and social agencies.

But while this is true, we have a word with our brother red man. The Indian is not to be a passive factor in all endeavor to help him to a correct adjustment. Quite to the contrary, he must become once more an aggressive force.

A short time ago Doctor Williams, the British anthropologist, in lecturing on prehistoric man, said that a study of ancient remains,—skulls and bones of animals and of men,—pointed out an important lesson for modern man. He said that the race of men, or the species of beast, that carried an overdeveloped feature into a new environment suffered extinction. He pointed out that the only races of men and species of animals that live now and multiply and thrive, are those that are willing to give up traits or habits that unfit them for their surroundings. To live, man, like animals, must be in harmony with his environment. Any inability to adjust oneself as changes come, means suffering, disease, incompetence, death, extinction.

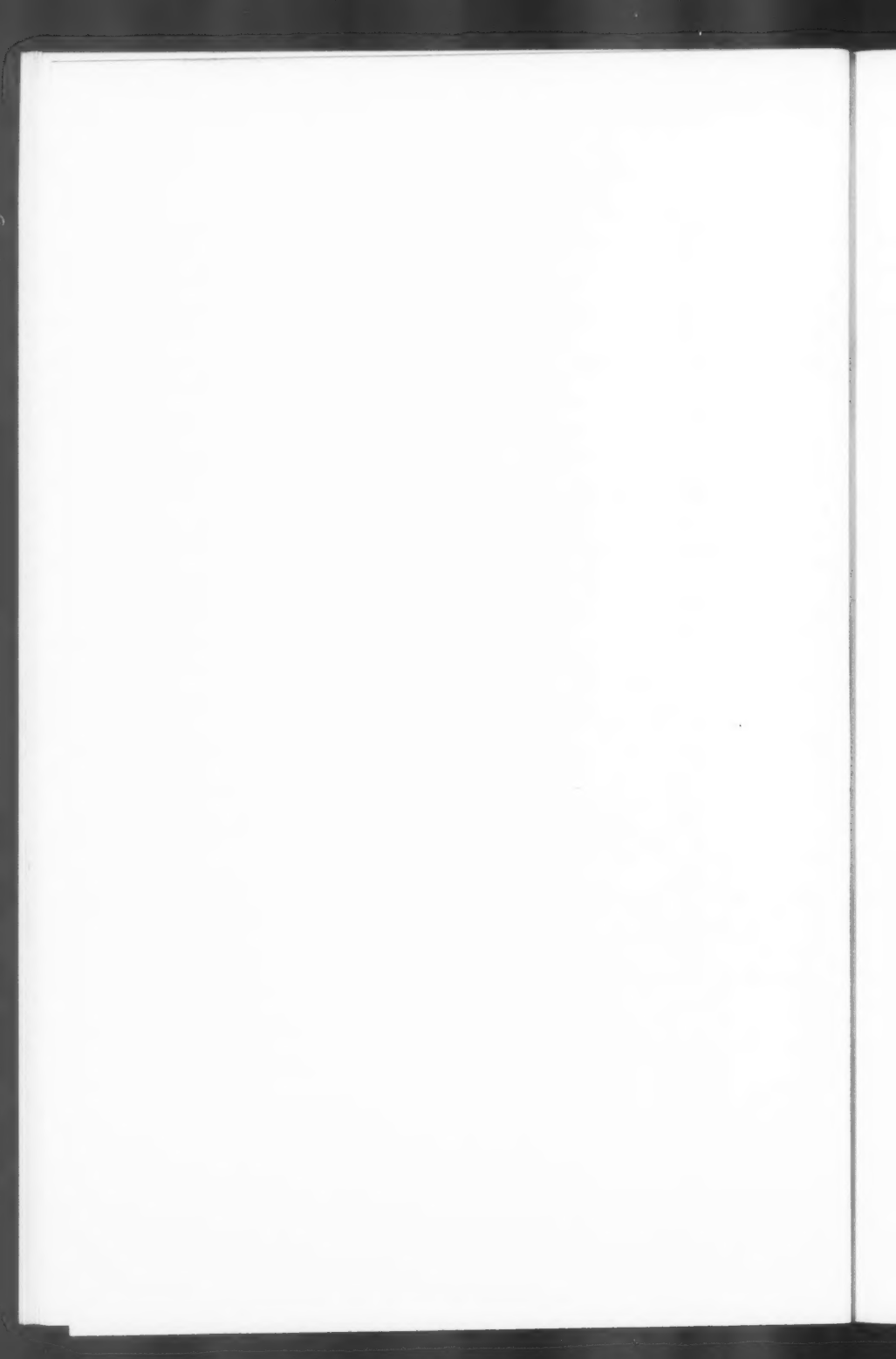
Times have changed, the past has gone, the present is here, and points out the changes and advancement of the future. The Indian must, by education and familiarity with "civilized life," adjust himself to the world in which he must live. If he fails or cannot adjust himself, he must become diseased, incompetent and he must die. Visit any Indian reservation and study the Indians there. Who are most healthy, most able, are most industrious, who are powers for good? Who are they who are best able to defend their people and who meet the white man on the same level? Are they the Indians who mourn over the past, who refuse to learn and who curse progress? No! Those who live best and who are happiest are those who know that a new day has come and that they must live in that day like the competent men of the surrounding race do. True, these men and women who have found the advantage of readjustment may not always be as stable in all ways as the older people, but this is only because many are as yet raw products. A refinement through the generations will only bring the polishing to some, that others acquire easily through a correct understanding of facts, thrift, culture and morals.

The Indian no longer hunts animals with a bow and arrow; he uses a repeating rifle. He knows its advantage. The Indian no longer lives in a bow-and-arrow-world, but a world of whirling progress; he must fight now with new weapons. A trained hand and a keen eye must be linked to an educated brain that knows the secrets of the twentieth century. The Indian must see this necessity if he is to live.

PLATE II



A group of members at Wildcat Point, near Denver, during the Third Conference excursion, October 15, 1913.



*The Cooperation of the Two Races*¹

By PROF. F. A. MCKENZIE

FOUR centuries and twenty-one years ago last Sunday, the East and the West, the White Man and the Red Man, met on the little island of Salvador. What centuries they have been! Centuries of misunderstandings, which have borne all the evil fruit of the misunderstandings, of ignorance, and of imaginary differences. Close dealing, trickery, treachery, war and murder, have on each side seemed to justify like action on the other. Each side has memorized and nursed the evils, the colossal sufferings it has undergone. Each race has despised and hated the other. A deep-seated prejudice has dominated the mind of each against the other, and has prevented the justice which should prevail between the two. If the white man could have thought of the Indian as he did of a fellow white man, and if the Indian could have thought of the Caucasian as he did of his fellow tribesman, what a different world, what a different history would have been! Instead of an eye for an eye, or a tooth for a tooth, or a life for a life, each would have done to the other as he would have wished the other to do to him. Instead of rapine, famine and war, there would have been justice, prosperity and peace. The centuries of dishonor would have been centuries of splendid honor. But it was not to be. Each thought the other so different, so unlike itself; each misunderstood the other, and so they had to fight it out.

The years of bullet and arrow are past, but those years of struggle and war have left their mark on the minds of men. Tradition has painted for the conqueror the image of the inferior, incompetent, useless Indian, and for the conquered the image of a haughty, domineering, unjust white man. Neither race has dealt with a real race. Justice has not been done by the white race to the Indian. Justice has not been done by the Indian to the white. There can be no justice between those who think they are essentially unlike. There is no justice between the cat and the mouse, between man and the buffalo, between unlike races. Justice is the relation which exists between equals. Justice will prevail between the Indian and the white when each knows that he is the brother of the other,—the son of the same Great Father,—equal sharer in the privileges and

¹ An address delivered at the Third Annual Conference, October 16, 1913.

in the duties of a divine humanity. Justice will prevail when each race looks upon the other as it looks upon itself.

We both have been unjust in the measure of our power. Shall we not each pour into the scales a fourfold measure of generosity for the evil that we have thought and done? This will be the sign of our repentance,—the necessary cure of our own souls. Never, never can justice be, until love prevails. Who first can be generous? I make, then, my first appeal to the white race.

Yours is the opportunity to redeem the credit of the race. We need not unduly condemn our ancestors. They struggled and fought under the pressure for existence and the strain of misapprehension. One of my own family fought with Miles Standish against the red men of the Atlantic coast. Perhaps those hardy men knew not what they did. Perhaps they aimed at righteousness as truly in their roughness as we must do in our endeavor to be righteous and gentle today. Miles Standish may have been as unsuccessful in his method of wooing peace as he was in his method of wooing a wife.

If every citizen today will develop a conscience for himself and for his nation as stern and true as reigned in the hearts of Standish and his men, the Indian of to-day need not longer fear. It is the inactivity, the iniquity of indifference, that constitutes our great sin against the Indian to-day. There may be among us some who are greedy and avaricious, some who are treacherous and corrupt, but the white race lives under condemnation chiefly because it sits idly by and refuses to accept the responsibility which it cannot escape. The white race scarcely knows that it has power and responsibility, or else it fears to examine into the situation lest it find heavier obligations than it is ready to bear. I venture to make two assertions, however: First, every citizen has an obligation to the Indian which he has no right to ignore; second, honestly faced, the obligation does not involve a heavy or undue burden. The chief thing he must do to be honest is to proclaim to his neighbors and to his representatives in the government his belief that the nation has an obligation to the Indian, and proclaim his demand that every obligation shall be met honestly and in full measure. Let him by voice and vote scourge from public life anyone who would lessen the opportunities of the Indian, who would tolerate any trickery or any policy that would deprive an Indian to his disadvantage of his land or home. Let him scourge from public life one who would relegate the Indian to an inferior status under the flag that claims to recognize no race or color, no system of caste or class. Let the standard of freedom

and equal opportunity be planted on the crest of those Rockies to which the tribes of the continent have retreated, and there let it wave a sign to the people in the valleys and to the nations of the world that this nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to freedom, has not ceased to exist.

In particular there are several fundamental principles for which every citizen should stand. Beyond this he should insist that the details shall be entrusted to people who believe in the principles and who are competent by definite training and broad experience to carry them out. The Indian problem cannot be solved by good intentions, by piecemeal policies or by cheap men. The "vanishing policy" has to a large degree failed, because its administrators have not believed in it, or have not been big enough to carry it out. No doubt the money has vanished. Perhaps the policy has vanished, but the problem has remained. Nothing is so expensive as failure. Double the depth of understanding and (through well paid men) double the efficiency of administration, and you will cut in two the cost and time of the solution of the Indian problem. There is no economy like success.

This, then, is the first fundamental demand of the honest citizen,—a demand for a comprehensive and comprehending policy carried on with adequate funds by competent men. It follows, of course, that any lesser policy or any appointment to position of power and responsibility in the Indian Service for personal or political reasons is and must be regarded as a high crime against the nation and against the nation's wards. The nation cannot rightfully offer the Indian less than the best.

There is not time here to outline a complete Indian policy, but upon the basis of the principle so far suggested certain opportunities and duties become obvious and clear. The principles of equality,—that is, the doctrine of the right, of like treatment and of equal opportunity,—the principle of justice, and the principle of efficient administration, these three furnish the ground work for immediate and fundamental action. I call your attention briefly to five immediate corollary necessities.

1. In the first place, the Indian needs to know who he is and what his place in the country is. Thousands of Indians do not know whether they are citizens or non-citizens. If they do have nominal status, they do not know what their rights, privileges and immunities are. Indians of like quality are sometimes citizens, sometimes non-citizens. Indians of unlike quality may both be citizens, or they may both be non-citizens. No man can lay down

any rules, for there are no rules. A condition of confusion and injustice maintains, which is alike disgraceful for the nation and disastrous for the Indian. Through the Society of American Indians the red man asks for a careful and intelligible definition of his status; first, that he may know what his present standing is, and, second, that his people may know how to advance from stage to stage until they may share equally and fully in the rights, equally and fully in the duties of the American citizen. He asks that Congress pass the Carter Code Bill, which creates a commission of experts to determine and define what his status is or may be. Who in all the world would deny so simple and yet so fundamental a thing? It is but the first step toward justice. Without it there is no hope of justice. A man without a country, a race without a home, is the most pathetic sight on the face of the globe. It is for the white man to say whether his brother and ward shall longer wander blindfolded in the wilderness of despair. The continuing desperation, the continuing deterioration of thousands of Indians will find its first check when the white man raises his hand to say that no longer shall the Indian be the sport of arbitrary commands, no longer shall the Indian live in a world wherein there is no law to which he may conform, or to whose protection he may flee. No longer shall the Anglo-Saxon deny to the Indian the Anglo-Saxon's chiefest boast, the freedom of the reign of law.

2. In the second place, because of his utter lack of standing in the courts the Indian is denied any regular legal opportunity to recover property, even when he thinks it has been taken from him. Many tribes or bands of Indians believe that they have heavy claims of this sort against the government. They may be right,—they may be wrong. But we have always refused them the right to test their claims even in our own courts and according to our own laws. This is a double injustice, and it works a double wrong upon the Indian. Deprived of property and deprived of admission to our courts, the Indian has reason to believe we do not trust the courts ourselves. Let us find out what we owe our wards; let us pay to the last cent what we owe.

When we have defined and given the Indian his rights under the Constitution and have given him his rights in the courts and under the law, then we may expect him to turn his eyes away from Washington and away from the courts, to discover that his highest good consists in the things he can do for himself. Then for the first time he will stand on his own feet, a man among men, without any privileges or hopes beyond those common to all men, the maker of

his own fate, the noble red man. It is for the white man to open the Court of Claims and thus remove an ancient source of bitterness between the two races. You can secure the passage of the amended Stephens Bill, now pending in Congress. If you say the word, Congress will be glad to pass the bill.

3. In the third place, as population expands and the races come into closer contact and competition, there is a natural and almost unconscious tendency for the white race to look with longing upon the possessions of the Indian, to measure the gain he could make out of the Indian's land and to forget the welfare of the Indian himself. Who can measure the advantage of land for an army post against an Indian tribe that has by slow and patient process been brought to the point where it could live the modern life and now perforce must be dispossessed and sent to live where the old life prevails? One of the great objects of the government policy for nearly thirty years has been to induce Indians to take up independent homesteads on the public domain, and yet, this year, efforts are made to forbid the Indian Bureau even to complete the plans already under way. Thousands of Indians were to be stopped from taking this great forward step. Surely, even the people who would profit by the Indian's loss will not, when they understand the real situation, consent to any such mistaken policy. Surely all of us will rise *en masse* to protest against any compulsory concentration of the Indians within the fast vanishing reservation lines. Let the word come that injustice is done in Cuba or on the islands of the eastern seas, and instantly our treasure, our lives and our honor are at stake. We send our navy into Manila Bay and Santiago Bay, our troops to Cuba and to Porto Rico, and drive the agent of injustice away. Let one of our citizens suffer loss in Mexico, and instantly the voice of protest is raised in Congress. Shall we not then consider the welfare of those whose guardians we are, above all thoughts of our own advantage? Shall we not say that henceforth not one foot of land and not one drop of water will we take, if that foot of land or that drop of water is necessary for the welfare of the Indian? Rich or poor, the white man's honor is pledged for the red man's good.

4. In the fourth place, if all these things are so, it is worth while, nay, it is imperative, that a native leadership shall be developed. It is worth while, nay, it is imperative, that there shall be a worthy Society of American Indians. In the two years since it was organized two rival organizations have been formed, and have died. They died because they were based on ambition and

private gain. This Society has lived because its purpose is sacrifice of self and service for the race. It has won public approval in proportion to its refusal to be used for private gain. So long as it maintains its high ideals,—no longer,—it will have a claim upon your generous support. The Society, to do its great work, needs money. Both Indian and white man are intensely concerned that this great experiment of altruism and self-help shall not fail from the face of the earth. I appeal to you to become an Associate Member, and to contribute as you are able.

5. In the fifth place, let me repeat and emphasize the necessity of standing openly and strongly and all together for the obligation of the nation, for the rights of the Indian. Let your humble servant go back to the people of the plains and say, "Thus saith the people of the mountains: 'The red men are our brothers, and shall be treated like brothers. No man shall do them harm, and we will send messengers to the Great Council in Washington to see that henceforth full justice shall never fail them.'"

I make my second appeal to my friends, the Indians. I am a white man, but I know more of you than I know of white people in this audience or city. I have known your President longer than any other person here. You have given me your confidence to an unusual degree. You have known me and my ideas for years—longer than the life of this Society. What then can I tell you to-night? Perhaps not much that I have not said before, and yet I want to talk to you for at least a few minutes. I crave your attention and your charity.

It would be wrong to think that all the duties were on the one side. Indians have duties to the white race. Just as the white man must believe in the capacity of the Indian, so the Indian must believe in the kindness of the white man. We both must learn to judge a man's ideas, not by the color of his skin, but by the value of the ideas. You expect me to look at this problem primarily in the light of the welfare of the Indian. You are right in this, and I try to do so. May I not expect you to look at it at least partially in the light of the welfare of the white race? The white race has many problems to solve, many burdens to bear. Are you planning to serve the rest of the world, as you think the rest of the world should serve you? If we of another race are to be truly and wisely kind to you, we must study and struggle to understand you. May we not hope and expect that you will try equally hard to understand us? Does the heart of the red man throb with love and sympathy for the white man in his blindness?

There are certain things you must do if you are to serve either your own race or the world. As members of the Society of American Indians you must in the first place maintain your high ideals. This is much more important than anything else you can do. It is and will continue to be your chief source of power. If you forget the ideals, power will slip away from you. When everybody is putting something of time or energy or money into the organization, it is gaining in power. When anybody is trying to get office or position or influence or lands or money out of the organization, it is losing power. It is an old saying and true that he who would save his life must lose it. When you give up your personal ambitions in order to help other people, then your soul grows. You have lost your life, and it returns to you a new and better and greater self. When your Society is a means by which you can sacrifice yourself for the good of your race, it is a power which cannot be broken. See to it that no personal, no political, no racial ambitions enter into your plans or platform. See to it that your officers and leaders are men and women who can hold the whole Society together and can retain the confidence of the whole country even as your leading officers now do. Remember that you want the best for your people, not that you want your friends to have good jobs or high positions. Remember, too, that you want nothing for your race to which it is not entitled, nothing for any member of your race to which he is not entitled. An Indian should not ask for anything just because he is an Indian. He should desire only those things for which he has a just claim as a man in even competition with other men. When you are looking after the interests of the children, get the highest trained and best trained teacher in the market. Don't sacrifice the education of your children just to give a job to an Indian. Demand highly trained men of broad sympathies in all positions affecting Indians, and you will command respect and get what you want. Demand positions for Indians, and you will lose public respect. See to it that Indians have as good and as high training as other people, and nobody can keep them out of good positions. By insistence on high ideals the Indian will always win. Let nobody fool you into thinking that you are so different that the second best is good enough for you.

2. In the second place, remember that you are valuable to the Society in proportion to the regularity and diligence with which you serve. Ask yourself where the Society would be if it had depended on you for its existence this last year. What every Society and every race needs is people who are always on the job, whether

they feel like it or not, in good or bad weather, in bad luck or good luck. Your officers have to work very much harder than necessary because some of you don't answer letters right away. Every member should feel responsible for the success of the Society. Every member should vow that every single week he will do something for the Society. If he can't do anything else he can get a postal card and write to the Secretary and say, "Dear Mr. Secretary, I am thinking about our Society. What can I do to help?" You don't know how discouraged a Secretary can get, so you don't know how happy such postal cards would make him. If every member would never fail to do a little every week the Society would boom as it never has boomed before.

3. In the third place, appreciate your officers. Who they are and what they do means everything to you. Last fall the editor of one of the great magazines said to me, "The Society seems to be in good hands, and I am ready to do anything within my strength to help them." You probably do not know how completely the Society owes its very existence to the labors of its chief officers. I remember the tremendous energy put into the first temporary organization by the first Chairman and Secretary, Mr. Dagenett and Mrs. La Flesche. You do not need to have me say that you have been signally fortunate in your first permanent officers, your present President and Secretary. I do not know so well what time and money Mr. Coolidge has put into the work, but I do know that his abundant geniality and tact have been like precious oil, keeping the machinery in smooth working order. Nor do I know the extent of time and energy and money that Mr. Parker has put into your service. I do not believe it would be possible to measure it. It seems almost impossible that in all the world you could find another man so completely fitted for the position he holds, or one so devoted and so unselfish. So long as he will consent to serve, you must never let him go. But you and I must take better care of him. He cannot always strain every day and every night, every week and every month. You and I, every one of us, must see to it that he shall never meet the expenses of the Society out of his own pocket, and we must see to it that he has a salary paid every month. It is not fair that he should lose money when he is serving us. But more than that, you can make things convenient for him, can help him and can encourage him. Mr. Parker has made a great secretary and a wonderful editor for you. Let him know beyond peradventure, in word and in deed, that you appreciate him. As you honor him you strengthen yourself in public confidence.

4. In the fourth place, remember your own people. Who are they? Where are they? Indians are a broken people, scattered in the mountains and over the sage-brush plain! Your people are not here. They cannot afford to come. They do not care to come. Who will care for them? Who will carry the message to them? You have seen a vision of the restored nation. Who will open their eyes to the same splendid sight? Think of the poor, of the sick, even of the bad. Are there any? Are you interested in them? You and I do not deserve good fortune and better prospects unless we will endeavor to secure good fortune and better prospects for those who have them not. The man who rises above his race and is willing to forget those less successful than he is not the man he ought to be. You are not that kind; but do you remember that you are the ones who can get closest to your people? Do you remember that you must be the messenger to your people yourself if the discouraged are to receive new courage, if the weak are to be made strong, if the unwise are to be made wise? We all have made mistakes, but forgetting those things that are behind and looking forward to those things that are ahead, let us press forward and let us help every brother to press forward to the happy time when the measure of prosperity is found, not in dollars, but in whatsoever things are lovely, pure, and of good report.

Most Indians are poor in this world's goods, and always will be poor except that they earn more money. Suppose the sixty millions of cash held in trust by the government belonged equally to all the Indians, and should be handed out once for all; each Indian would get the munificent sum of \$225. On the average, what the Indian receives must come from the labor of his hands and brain. But wealth does not consist in land and money, but in the thoughts and friendships of men. As a man thinketh in his heart, so is he. Man is wealthy as he improves his mind and strengthens his soul. Man is wealthy as he becomes more and more like his Maker in wisdom, power, holiness, justice, goodness and truth. You, my friends, will be true to your race when you see in your people the possibilities of divinity and give of your very selves in constant endeavor to bring those possibilities into full fruition. What are you going to do to lift the lives of the poorest and weakest on the reservation? What will you do to make the lives of these fuller and deeper and richer every day the year around? It is easy to do big things before the public eye on a spectacular occasion once a year. It is a great thing to do the little service all unseen every day in the year. What will you do for your people? You cannot

all go back to the reservation, but you can all plan and work for those who are there.

In the fifth place, and finally, be just and generous to the white man. Be just and stern, if you will, to every rascal of every race, but do not think that a rascal necessarily is a white man, or that a white man is necessarily a rascal. It will be necessary to discriminate and to give your trust to those who prove to have the deepest knowledge, the wisest plans, the most unselfish motives, and the most genuine sympathy. Believe that there are such; look for them, counsel with them. You will be happier and they will be happier for your trust. More than that, because of the great difference in numbers, you will secure public policies to your advantage only as you can interest the white race in those policies. Any attempt to "go it alone" is doomed to failure. The Indian in the nation is like a man in society. No man either liveth or dieth to himself. You must let us help you, as we must let you help us. Then let us be friends, sharing fully in thought and deed and enjoying a friendship based on a mutual desire to serve. Let us try to say to each other what we say about each other. Let us yoke ourselves under a joint restraint in order that we may pull in the same direction and to the same goal, the goal of a new and better civilization.

This, then, is the gist of the whole matter. The strong race must remember that responsibility is proportional to power, and the weaker race, as it aspires to power, must remember that duties come when power comes. Each race must remember that rights and duties rise and fall together. Neither should accept power except as it is prepared to accept the hard yoke of duty. When Indians have the same rights as white men they will have the same duties as white men. But in that day East will no longer be East, West no longer West, but both shall stand before the great white throne of justice, happy and glad that they have entered into the kingdom of the brotherhood of man.



I do the very best I know how — the very best I can; and I mean to keep doing so until the end. If the end brings me out all right, what is said against me won't amount to anything. If the end brings me out wrong, ten angels swearing I was right would make no difference. — *Abraham Lincoln.*

*The American Indian of Today*¹

By PRESIDENT SHERMAN COOLIDGE

ONE OF the speakers last night said that the American people erected a memorial in New York City to the Indian in the form of a big statue of an Indian. He said, "They do not need that memorial. The Indian is not dead. He is very much alive, and needs greater things than statues."

Now, we started out with a new life staring us in the face — that which was brought over from Europe, therefore we have had to adapt ourselves to an entirely new mode of living. We have advanced to the present condition in fifty years. Up to that time the nation in general pursued the policy of war and extermination.

It may be of interest to you to know that we have among us today in this room one of the officials — if not the most important official — of our organization, whose name is Arthur C. Parker, State Archeologist of New York and Secretary-Treasurer of our Society. There was another man by the name of Parker — Ely Parker, I believe, was the name of the General. General Parker was Military Secretary to General Grant when Robert E. Lee surrendered, and it is in the handwriting of that Indian that we have the terms of peace that brought the North and South together, and that same General Parker was appointed Commissioner of Indian Affairs under General Grant, and it was General Grant that issued a proclamation of peace to all the tribes of the United States. And from that time on the nation has pursued the policy of peace and education, and in fifty years two-thirds of the Indians are called "taxed Indians," which is a long way toward complete American citizenship.

Another speaker has reminded us that there were thirteen of mid-Western Indians who took part in the Revolutionary War. There were Indians in every war that we have had, including the Spanish-American War, and not only that, but we have had Indians in the army in all our frontier struggles. We have had them as soldiers, we have had them as scouts, we have had them as policemen on the reservations, and they have not held back when they were in duty bound to arrest friends, relatives, and even to kill them for the welfare of the citizenship of the United States. Faithful to their duty,

¹An address delivered before the student body of Denver University during the Third Annual Conference.

they were not found wanting when it came to a fulfilment of duty. That is the American Indian, and if ever, as a citizen, the Indian is called upon to shoulder the musket for the service of his country, he will march off under the aspiring folds of our banners and as loyally offer his life upon the altar of the Constitution as does any American.

We are banded together for the honor of the race and for the good of the country; everything must be subservient to that. That we are enabled to do this shows the advance we have made, and it is due especially to those who had the unusual advantage of schools and colleges and universities.

Why, when I first started out in life all I could do was by sign language to make my wants known. There is a universal language called the "sign language" among the Indians of the Western mountains and plains. I remembered that language; I understood it. I was among the Crows and the Sioux when I was taken away from the Arapahoes. One white man who had married a Sioux woman learned this language; he could speak it as well as any Indian. In fact, he said it was so easy and natural that even a bear could understand it. I said, "How do you make that out, Frank?" He said, "I went out bear hunting one day, and seeing a great big silver tip, I shot and wounded him. It displeased him so much that he chased me, and so I threw my gun under a tree and climbed the tree. He came over to the gun, examined it, smelled it, turned it over, and after awhile he picked it up and looked at it, cocked it, looked up, and pulled the trigger, but it didn't go off. Then he looked up at me, made signs of putting a cartridge into the chamber and told me by signs to (indicating throwing motion)" Frank continued, "I knew what the bear wanted, but I wasn't going to throw him any cartridges that I had in my belt."

I was taken by an army officer who was once stationed at Fort Logan, and I was taken up to Montana when I was a boy. He was stationed at Fort Shaw, and the children gave parties that winter, and I was invited to all of them, and finally I asked Mrs. Coolidge if I could not have a party and invite the children who had been inviting me. She said, "Yes, Sherman, I can give you a party. What kind of a party do you want — a birthday party?" I said, "Yes, that would be all right — any kind of a party." She said, "I cannot give it to you just now, but how would the twenty-second of February do?" I said, "I would just as soon be born on the twenty-second of February as any other day." So I was born in Wyoming and had my birthday in Montana.

Up in Wyoming I worked twenty-six years as missionary among my people, the Arapahoes, and one day I happened to be in the county seat — it was the Fourth of July — and a man by the name of Coolidge, having the same name as myself, was the orator of the day. I met him with several friends on the street, and he introduced me very nicely and politely to these friends, and one of these friends looked in a rather queer way at him, as much as to say, "How is it you both have the same name?" So without any further ado he answered the man's glance and said, "Why, it is all right. We have the same name. That is not strange. But," he said, "of course, I'm a real Coolidge; my ancestors came over in the Mayflower." "Yes," I responded, "but mine were on the reception committee when they arrived."

I am very glad indeed to have this chance to speak to you about our race, and to tell you that it is very much alive. Many think it is vanishing, but it seems to be increasing, and I believe that if you give the Indian half a chance he will shoulder the responsibilities of State and church, and shoulder the burden like a man. General Grant said that the Indian is a man, and should be treated as such. All honor to General Grant! He seems to have been the first great champion of our human rights.

Instead of roaming all over the country as once, we are beginning now to settle down in town and in community, and we are becoming well aware that the responsibilities of life must be shouldered by us as well as other people; that we must not remain dependent children; that we must not be a burden, but that we must take off our frock and become productive, useful men and women.



Our Third Platform

Those who desire to know what constructive measures should be advocated for the betterment of Indian conditions can not do better than study the planks in our Denver platform. There are great thoughts there that, if expanded and brought into action by Congress and by the Indians, would react like a miracle in clearing up abuses, claims and misery. A great change would come that would herald before the world that America had redeemed her pledges to the Indian and that the Indian had awakened to his great opportunity in the world of to-day. Study our platform, stand loyally for it, push it with all your strength.

*Looking Backward*¹

By WM. J. KERSHAW (Menominee)

THE questions that confront this association are strictly practical ones. Our President said the other night that he was glad that he was no longer compelled to look backward. I am of the opinion that a backward glance once in a while is of advantage to the Indian race, and especially is it of advantage to the students of a great university like this—to take a glance backward into the pioneer history of the country in order to discover not only the written history of the Indian, but those romantic incidents in which both the Indian and the white man have figured.

These practical questions which I have mentioned to you we will probably have to solve in a great measure before you enter into the activities of citizenship yourselves.

One of these romantic incidents in the history of the pioneers relates to the history of Wisconsin. Many years ago there was born upon the Wisconsin River a lady who was afterward named Wisconsin Vancleve. "Wisconsin" means "rushing water." Some years ago she wrote a story for the magazines, in which she described her early life among the Indians at Fort Crawford and later at Fort Snelling, in Minnesota. Her father was a commander at those posts, and she told how, in the early days, in a great conference between the Chippewa and the Sioux, a dispute had arisen between these tribes because of certain depredations committed by the Sioux upon the Chippewa. Her father there, with but a handful of soldiers, was confronted with a very serious situation. There were thousands of these Indians, and but a handful of soldiers, and a false step would precipitate conflict, and that might have very dire results. Her father arranged it by calling the chiefs of the tribes together and getting them to agree that the young Sioux—three of them—who had committed these depredations should run the gauntlet, and accordingly arrangements were made whereby these young men went down through the lines of the Chippewa, and they all bit the dust before they reached the goal. This lady wrote this in the article which I mentioned, and I want to say to you that thereby hung this true, tragic incident in the early history of Wisconsin. There was a Winnebago chief across the Mississippi by the name of Red Bird. Information came to him that these three

¹ An address delivered before the the student body of Denver University during the Third Annual Conference of the Society of American Indians.

Sioux were members of his tribe, and had been killed by the white men, and Red Bird immediately went on the war path. There was a battle with a flatboat on the Mississippi River, and Red Bird himself, with his own hand, killed a man near Fort Crawford or Prairie du Chien. The truth was discovered, and Red Bird's rebellion collapsed. The United States troops went after him, and at a point not far from the place where I was born, Red Bird surrendered, and the officer who received his surrender sent an official report of the incident to Washington, and you will find it upon the record there now substantially as I have related it. He said that Red Bird was one of the most magnificent specimens of physical manhood that he had ever seen, and he came in to surrender after the spectacular manner of the Indian in those days, clothed in white buckskin, with his peace pipe bound across his breast, and the red bird, from which he derived his name, upon his shoulder; and, stepping into the presence of the officer, he said, in substance, that he had come to surrender, and, stooping down, he picked up a handful of dust and he scattered it in the air. He exclaimed, "My life is gone like that. I would not recall it. Do not put me in chains. Let me be shot." We have just built a new capitol in the State of Wisconsin, and this story of the surrender of Red Bird occupies, as a great painting, one of the great panels in the reception room of that capitol.

Now, these little stories which we get by looking back are inspiring, and I think that no more valuable suggestion could be made to students than to inspire them with the idea of looking into these stories in their early student life, that they may have a better stimulus to study the practical questions affecting the Indian in more mature life.

The Indian is the "mystery of the Western Hemisphere." You don't know him. He is among you, but he is not of you. You sit at table with him, you attend church with him, but you don't know him. And from this great institution of learning there may go forth some of you endowed with the spirit of self-denial and self-abnegation which will enable you to go and study this man, study him from the first bead upon his moccasin to the last feather in his crown, that you may tell the future world who he is.

Not far from your door is the wonderland of this world—South-western United States. There are now twenty-six prehistoric cities discovered there, standing just as they did when the Spaniards found them, where the questions of municipal government and woman suffrage were solved long before the white man set foot on the American soil. Who of you will go down among these people and

among these ruins in an effort to learn what the American Indian is? In the shadows of this dim past there is much of value for men of to-day to know. We look into the heavens, we study the life of a cell, and so, peering into the past of the Indian's mysterious pre-history, you will find both inspiration and romance.



The Indian Commissioner's Report

In the first annual report of Commissioner Cato Sells, just off the press, are found many highly significant items. Every close student of "the Indian Problem" should study this important document.

The immense opportunity for the improvement of existing industrial conditions of the Indians is referred to. The Commissioner states that the Indians have more than six hundred thousand acres of irrigated lands; approximately nine million acres of agricultural land; and more than fifty million acres of grazing land, and the government has appropriated approximately ten million dollars in connection with Indian irrigation projects. Many able-bodied Indians who have valuable lands are wholly or partially without seed, teams, or implements to utilize such lands. This is particularly true on several reservations where large sums of tribal funds have been used in constructing irrigation systems and is in part the reason why such large areas of irrigated lands are now under cultivation.

The valuable grazing lands of the Indians offer unusual opportunities for increasing the meat supply of the country, and at the same time furnish large profit and employment for the Indians. During the last year the Indians cultivated less than six hundred thousand acres of their vast area of agricultural land. The Commissioner will make an aggressive effort to procure reimbursable appropriations with which to advance to the Indians the greatly needed equipment, stock and other betterments absolutely necessary, that they may make beneficial use of their resources and become self-supporting and progressive citizens. These reimbursable appropriations, if procured and properly used, will result in ultimately materially decreasing the gratuity appropriations. The need is stated for additional legislation by Congress to meet the purposes, such as legislation authorizing the mining on Executive Order Reservations; legislation segregating tribal and trust funds in the United States Treasury; and legislation authorizing the submission of claims of Indian Tribes to the Court of Claims.

*The Indian and the Wild West Show*¹

By CHAUNCEY YELLOW ROBE (Sioux)

I AM GLAD that the circumstances enabled me to be present upon this convention; and as I look about this gathering, of the leaders of my own race, it is a great inspiration to me to think that we are assembled here in the interest of our common cause.

I have come to this convention with a question that is familiar to you all — The Wild West Indian Show.

Before I go any further to speak upon this subject I wish to ask one question: Is there any one here that will tell me that the Wild West Show is a good thing for the Indian? If this Society is in favorable accord with such a practice, I am willing to form a new Wild West Show right here among the members of this Society to take the place of the celebrated Buffalo Bill, whose last camping ground was Denver.

The Indian is not to be censured for the Wild West Indian Show, for his condition and the present life which the Indian is forced to lead has drawn him into such shows. What benefit has the Indian derived from these Wild West Shows? None, but what are degrading, demoralizing and degenerating, and all their influences fall far short of accomplishing the ideals of citizenship and civilized state of affairs which we most need to know. Tribal habits and customs are apt to be degraded for show purposes, because the Indian Bureau under our government is constantly encouraging the Indian to degenerate by permitting hundreds of them to leave their homes for fraudulent savage demonstrations before the world. All these Wild West Shows are exhibiting the Indian worse than he ever was, and deprive him of his high manhood and individuality.

We see the Indian. He is pictured in the lowest degree of humanity. He is exhibited as a savage in every motion picture theatre in the country. We see the Indian, in his full native costume, stamped on the five-dollars bills as a reminder of his savagery. We see a monument of the Indian in New York harbor as a memorial of his vanishing race. The Indian wants no such memorial monument, for he is not yet dead.

The name of the North American Indian will not be forgotten as

¹An address delivered at the Third Annual Conference, Denver, Oct. 14-19, 1913.

long as the rivers flow and the hills and the mountains shall stand, and though we have progressed, we have not vanished.

At every celebration upon the reservation borders the Indian is in demand for show exhibitions. I have had the privilege of witnessing some of these occasions where the Indian is induced by pay to perform the naked war dance before the intelligent people who call themselves Christians. Under these circumstances is it any wonder that sometimes it is considered that the Indian does not possess the adaptability for Anglo-Saxon civilization?

The fact is here demonstrated that the Indian is truly a man, and that he can become adapted to the highest state of development and achievement. Every effort should be made to lead him through the paths of education and Christianity to self-supporting and independent American citizenship. It is for us who feel more deeply and trust in our God to consider our own difficult questions, to hope that the day is not far distant when the reservation system and all these hindrances that concern us will be removed, and that all of our people will enjoy the same privilege of citizenship that you and I do.



A Word to the Indian Student

By DORA B. McCauley

There are a great many Indian boys and girls who have received a grade school education and who return to their homes, feeling that they have done all that they are expected to do in life. To these I would say, you have done nothing; some one else has done something for you and you have as yet failed to show your own worthiness. It is for you now to pay back in work. Do not be content to stay at home, doing practically nothing, but make a place for yourself in the world. If you show yourself willing and alert there will always be a place for you. If you could once feel the joy of independence, you would never again wish to drift along in an idle, listless way.

You hear so many cries of "Give us a chance!" Take a chance for yourself like so many other American boys and girls who are eager to rise above their environment. When you prove that you are capable and as efficient as any other American, the people, through Congress, can not fail to grant you all the rights of an American.

What the Indian Can Do for Himself¹

By CHAS. H. KEALEAR (SIOUX)

THE SUBJECT which I am to speak on, "What Indians Can Do for Themselves and for Their Country," is a most interesting one. Now we might say right on the start that the Indian can do almost anything for himself, but we shall have to sort those things out and pick out the best that he can do for himself. I think when he puts himself in the proper place after a quiet deliberation with himself as to what is the proper course for him to take in life, he will then understand his situation.

I have come in contact with the Arapahoes more than I have with my own tribe, and I understand them a good deal better. In their speeches, in their councils, they have always spoken of the past. They are always looking behind — what a nice time they had, how well they lived years ago, before the white man encroached upon them.

Now we know our situation very well — our conditions in the past and as they exist at present. In order to overcome these conditions of the present time and get away from the conditions of the past, we will have to look forward, not backward. You may go all over the country, on different reservations, and who are the boys and girls that are making steady progress? Who are they? You will not find among them one who is always looking into the past. They have set their faces forward. They have put themselves side by side with the white man — our pale-face brethren — and they say, "We can do as much; we can do as well." And they are accomplishing that purpose in life to make a living for themselves and their family.

What can the Indian do for himself is the question. It is a very important question with us as a race that is just stepping from the past into the life of the great nation. We are making that one long step. In the past we have made steps a little at a time — very slow progress. The Indian has taken his place among the white men, but I wish to say here that I think he took his place in the nation years ago.

If you will remember the time this government bought the possessions of the French, soon after 1851, the Yankton Sioux Indians

¹An address delivered before the Third Annual Conference in Denver, Colorado.

at St. Croix, in 1851, signed allegiance to the Government of the United States. When they signed allegiance to the Government of the United States they became potential citizens of the United States. There were other tribes at that time, or soon after, who swore their allegiance to the United States; that they would fight under the flag and serve their country. So we find now that we have sworn allegiance to the flag — that we have taken our place as men of the nation.

The more education that is pounded into us the further we will wedge into the better standards of life.

That is the place for the Indian to take, and he must take it. We are going to take it. We are going to put ourselves right among the best of men and say, "We are able to do as well as you can, and we are going to do it."



Our Power and Our Weakness

Our power for good does not consist in the small local matters that we can agitate, but in the great things we all can agree upon, earnestly push, act upon, and bring into reality. Our Denver platform is a good example of what we are calling all the country to consider and give us as Indians and Americans. Our Society can not change in a day or a year, agencies, allotments, trust funds, or grant every request. We have not greater power than the Interior Department, the Indian Bureau or Congress. We are only a small social force representing the primary needs of a hampered people. Our weakness consists in our selfishness and in our petty demands; our strength consists in our individual or collective effort directed through the channels of the Society for great needs. Our main object is not to perform the functions of the Indian Rights Association, to get Indians jobs or to abolish the Indian Bureau, *but our main object is to awaken the Indians to a knowledge that they themselves must learn to fight their own battles, transact their own business and become valuable men in a valuable country.* We do ask the Nation to provide better laws and a chance for better education, but at the same time we ask the Indian to take upon himself the responsibility that comes with increased power and thus save himself as every man should. Therefore, do not expect too much from a new Society. Expect great things for yourself and add to our forces your power for good. Let us stand together in this common cause.

The Need of Mutual Understanding¹

By DR. JOHN CARL PARISH

(Associate Secretary, S. A. I.)

FROM the time when the ships of the white man first sailed into view of the Indians down to the present time there has been a constant wall of misunderstanding between the two races. It was an unfortunate thing, but a very natural thing. Let us consider the situation for a moment. There was the Atlantic Ocean dividing, with several thousand miles, two continents upon which there had been developing for hundreds or thousands of years two distinct, diametrically different civilizations, each with its own system of industry and its own system of religion, ideals and customs of life. Neither race knew anything about the other, or even knew of the other's existence, and then, when these three little ships sailed across the sea, the meeting of the two races was precipitated, and thereupon was involved this necessary combination or contact between two races which has opened the problem which has resulted and has continued down to the present time.

Now, this lack of understanding, as I say, is the most natural thing in the world. These men came over to this country with their preconceived notions and prejudices, whether good or bad, and they were absolutely obliged to put themselves in touch with the people who were already here. It was almost an impossibility. And in the same way, the people who were already here—the American Indians—endowed with their racial peculiarities and ideals, customs and religion, were unable, for the same reason, to put themselves in the minds of the people who were arriving.

There were certain additional difficulties in the case of the English colonists. The people of the French nation were different from the people of the English nation. There was a certain imaginative type of mind that was needed in the contact of the two races. They needed to get out of their own prejudices, their own type of mind, their habits of thinking, and see what it was that was animating the life of the people in whose land they were coming; and the French were able to do that much more readily than the English. The English have been more or less of a stiff-necked people, and although I think the history of the English people has been a history of sincerity, it has also been a history of a great deal of stubborn-

¹An address delivered before the Third Annual Conference at Denver, Colorado.

ness in the persistence of some ideas that were absolutely ineffective in bringing together the two races; and as I say, all through the years that have passed since that time there has been much misunderstanding. The people who landed in New England, with their ideas of religion, felt that the Indian had no religion whatever, and the white man's religion, although the Indian showed in a great many cases his willingness to look into it, was an absolutely new thing to the Indian. We have simply been making an effort from that time down to get together, to understand each other, to get into each others' viewpoints. I think that has been the greatest trouble in the amalgamation of the races.

The same failure to appreciate the viewpoint of the other race has existed when we have come to tell the story of the last three hundred years. The historians of the past, all the way through, have followed very largely the same attitude of misunderstanding. If you will take almost any historical treatise and look into the description of the exploration period I think you will find this to be true. Take, for instance, a common example — La Salle. I believe that you will find that the description of his explorations, instead of beginning with the land which he explored and the people who lived in the land which he explored, will go back into the little town in France where he was born, clear out of the surroundings in which his explorations lay, begin with his life in France, his early training, and follow him through the different experiences of his younger days, and then through his life in the St. Lawrence Valley, and so eventually reach explorations in the Mississippi Valley, and watch the events that followed from the standpoint of Europe. To my mind there is another standpoint that we must get hold of. The way to study the exploration of the Mississippi Valley is to get down into the Mississippi Valley before La Salle ever heard of it, and see what was being done there, see what the situation was, see what the surroundings were, and see what the natural resources were and who the people were who lived there, and what were their industries and their methods of life. Then when you have put into the readers' minds — the students' minds — an understanding of what was there and how the Indians thought and how they looked upon things, then, keeping that same standpoint, let these Frenchmen, these Europeans, come in. Then, understanding what the circumstances were, you will understand the warfare that followed; you will understand what the attitude of the American Indian was toward the explorers. Now that is a thing that I think American historians will have to recognize.

I don't want to be understood as making a rash criticism of all history. If I may be pardoned for the use of a modern method of speech, I don't want to be understood as being the man who put the "hiss" in history; but I do think that there is that standpoint that has to be considered.

Now then, what does all this have to do with the subject we are discussing this morning? What can the Indian do for his race and for the country? In the first place, he has to do the same thing that the white man has to do—he must have an understanding of the other people's standpoint; he must put himself in turn in place of the white man, understand why it is the white man does certain things, and assist the white man to understand why it is the Indian does certain things.

There is where I think a great deal can be accomplished. In other words, you have got to know your own history; you have got to have a knowledge of these things. It helps us all in our study of future conditions to see and know what has been done in the past in order that we may proceed without mistakes and with effectiveness in the future.

Now, how much do we white men and Indians know about the relations between the white race and the Indian race in the past? We know certain definite things, some of them very gratifying, some of them otherwise. How much of an understanding does the ordinary white man have—to take that up first—of the relations between his government and the Indian? I think it would be pretty safe to say that a very large proportion of the white people of this country have absolutely no knowledge of what has been done, whether good, bad or indifferent, by his people toward the Indian race and their people. Now that is a thing that must be changed—absolutely must be changed. And it is the duty of the white man to bring about that change. The same thing is true of the Indian. I think, without any question, there is to a certain extent the same lack of knowledge on the part of the Indian of his own history and of the relations between his people and the white race—between his people and the United States Government. I do not mean in question of detail; I mean the whole broad general policy between the government and the Indian. That must be understood completely by the great mass of Indians before we can make any long steps in advance.

But there is another thing: I was interested in the passing remarks that were made by one of the officers, to the effect that the thing rests very largely upon the Indians themselves—any progress

that is made. I believe that heartily. I believe, in fact, that it is up to the Indians in these respects to educate the white man. We have talked so much about the education of the Indian, but along certain lines the white man needs to be educated. I think he is ready for it. I think the white men of the country are sincerely ready to be shown the true state of affairs, and that they will co-operate in working toward a better state, but they have got to be educated, and it is up to you, the American Indians, to perform that process of education. It was tried in the first place, in the first hundred years of the country's history, by the medium of warfare, but the Indian did not educate the white man very successfully in that way. There are other ways in which it cannot be done any more successfully. Invective and complaint against minor things will never accomplish it. It has got to be a purposeful study under competent leadership, such as is growing up now in this very Society, discarding for the present the smaller things, working along the lines of the greater things. That is the policy that is going to accomplish results; and by your actions, by your character, by your influence in writing and in speech, and through the influence of this Society, I believe it is possible for the North American Indians to educate the white man in such a way that this wall of misunderstanding will be broken down, and that the two races will work side by side toward a greater citizenship and more freedom in every respect.

And so I am rejoicing to-day in the possibilities of this Society. In the past one great difficulty has been that there has been no adequate organization in which the Indian and the white man could get together to work out these benefits. There has to be in every movement some central body that will crystallize the thought, that will crystallize this tendency and desire to reform, and put it into action and put it into reality. Now this Society, under the leadership that it has, and admitting as it does, to active and associate membership, the members of both races, I believe is a power that is going to accomplish great things, and I hope in succeeding years it will have a growth and development commensurate with the importance of its purposes.



Begin your preparation now for the Madison Conference, October 6-11, 1914. The Society must present strong papers, sound arguments and declare a constructive platform. Study, think and be ready to act with intelligence.

Acquiring a Standard of Value¹

By JOHN M. OSKISON (Cherokee)

THE Indian wins success — and I am thinking more especially of material success, money success — by coming into contact with people who can give him a *standard*. I think the “Harveyizing” process along the Santa Fe Railroad, from a commercial standpoint, a material standpoint, is going to be a mighty good thing for the Indian. I don’t care especially to see them squatting out in their picturesque rigs when the trains come in, and all that, but they do get a chance to acquire a standard of value. As soon as an Indian can get close to a standard of value and can adopt it, he loses that prehistoric idea concerning value. As soon as he has reached that point, I have personally ceased to fear for him. My only disquietude comes for fear he is going to overdo it, because I have noticed a certain trait among Indians, when they come into contact with civilization and get this standard of value, and that is that they are shrewd bargainers, who are apt to overdevelop that bargaining instinct. It is rather oriental in character. So I don’t fear so much that the Indian will not set a proper value on what he does, what he can produce or what he has to offer to the world, as that he will be tempted to overvalue it, and when he finds this valuation is too high and cannot be accepted, generally he is apt to retreat into himself and think he is being badly treated. It is difficult, and it will be for a considerable time, for these Indians who are merging, to learn exactly what square dealing is. There is a great opportunity for someone who knows what square dealing is, commercial, legal, moral, to elaborate standards, so that the Indians can understand.

I have been down, within a few weeks, to the Pima Reservation, in Arizona, and I saw there a gradation of opportunity that seemed to me exceedingly interesting. The first group of Pimas that I went to lived near Mesa, in a section which is highly developed and all under irrigation. I found it difficult, with my lack of knowledge of the irrigation technique, to follow their talks. They had a series of grievances about their water supply, and it all hinged on certain degrees of service. They were A, B and C users under certain contracts with a certain water users’ association. They got so

¹An address delivered before the Third Annual Conference of the Society of American Indians at Denver, Colorado.

many acre-feet, and got the water on the land at a certain time. From there I went over to Sacaton, and there found a different set of grievances. The men at Sacaton wanted to talk. They seemed at Sacaton to understand less definitely what they wanted. From Sacaton I went to Black Water, and at Black Water it was a whole lot of petty details, like a bunch of children complaining that their teacher favored somebody else; there was internal dissensions based on what seemed immaterial things. Then I went to the McDowell sub-agency, where some of the Apaches lived. They all thought that I and the people who were with me were powerful enough to fix anything that was wrong, so they wanted to talk to us about it all, so they spent two hours telling us about this policeman they had, and how the farmer went around in his automobile, and did not show them how to farm, and how this fellow was charged with beating his wife, and he was not guilty of that, and how they put him in jail anyway and sent his wife to school — little, little, little details; their minds were not on the big things, and it was all one-sided; that is, they could consider no other side than their own. And then we went to San Carlos among those Apaches, and they had various little troubles which they were excited about; and then to Fort Apache.

This may sound like a travelogue, but I don't want it to be one. In each of those places was opportunity for some Indian who could see clearly, who could talk sanely and moderately, to take a place of leadership; to take from the shoulders of the agent and superintendent a lot of work which he was not equipped to do, which he was too busy to look after, even if he had the best intention.

For instance, the San Carlos and the Fort Apache Indians, about 5,000 in all, own a great reservation — the White Mountain Reservation. A lot of that is good grazing land. The superintendent leases that grazing land, and the money, of course, which is received belongs to these two groups of Indians. The superintendents are supposed to use that money for the benefit of the Indians, pay it out to them and give them rations — anything that seems feasible. There is a project on foot to build a dam on San Carlos Reservation. This dam would flood considerable of the land under cultivation, and would back the water up to certain points on two rivers. Now the people of Arizona, through their representative in Congress, wanted to build bridges over these two rivers back of the point where the dam water would extend, and he succeeded in having put into the Indian Bill — I am not sure it was the Indian Bill, but at any rate a bill that was pending — a provision for the building of

these two bridges, and having them built in large part out of the funds belonging to the Indians of these two reservations. I talked to the superintendents at San Carlos and at Fort Apache, and they agreed that these two bridges would in no sense benefit those two tribes of Indians.

They made their protest, and the provision was cut out of the bill, but at the last moment it was restored there by the Congressman from Arizona. The Superintendent at Fort Apache, in talking about this, said: "All I can say is that the Congressman from Arizona had better never come onto the Fort Apache Reservation. If he ever comes over here he will sure be killed, because those wild fellows over at Sibicue know these bridges are going to be built, that those bridges are going to be of no service to them, and it is simply a plan to get the bridges built for the white people of Globe and Southern Arizona who want to go over that road, and they know the Congressman from Arizona is responsible for it, and what they will do when he comes over here is perfectly plain." Well, it is very likely that the Congressman from Arizona will go there. I know him personally very well. He would not believe anything of that sort, and I think if he heard that he would directly go. It is just possible he might be killed. The Superintendent realized that he was saying a very sensational thing, and he realized he was saying it to a newspaper man and all that, but I have no reason for doubting it. Now if that happens, it is going to set back the whole Indian business a long way; it is going to block the progress of those 2,500 Indians at Fort Apache indefinitely, and give the whole business a black eye; and yet it is up to that Superintendent — who is overburdened with details, who has half a dozen things that he wants done, who has no clerk to help him, even at this time — it is up to him to tackle that situation and prevent anything of that sort, and to try, if he can, to stop the building of those bridges to save the money which belongs to these Apaches, and it seems pretty hopeless.

Such situations, of course, exist. Any of the other men who have gone around can give you instances. I have heard it from dozens of sources. That is the specific opportunity. Somewhere among those Apaches there ought to be some Indian who can take hold of that and get a hearing; somewhere in our Society there ought to be somebody who can help; somewhere in their tribe, in their reservation, every group of Indians, there ought to be somebody who can get a clear understanding of situations of that sort, and who can prevent them. This Society would be, to my mind, the ideal

medium through which to bring such matters before the attention of the proper authority.¹

Mr. Coolidge has read the telegram from the Commissioner. He has told you that we have free access of investigating conditions in the Interior Department, and he has shown you how cordially we are likely to be received by congressional investigating committees. They are all friendly. It is our opportunity, therefore, to gather the facts; to gather them in a cool-headed sort of way, so that we can go before these committees and lay facts before them on which they can act. That is to my mind the biggest opportunity the Indian has to-day for helping himself, and, incidentally, for getting the country straight on the Indian question.

I am speaking more especially of material things—the questions of land, water, coal, oil, timber, and all things which belong to the Indian, and which he can capitalize and which he will find a tremendous advantage later on. It is a matter of conserving his material resources and using them properly. I am not much of a preacher. I think the same opportunity exists along educational lines and along ethical lines generally. *It all means getting a standard of value fixed into the minds of the Indians, a standard which is fair to him and which is fair to his neighbors, and which is fair to everybody, and to insist that that standard be recognized.* That will be the greatest service which an Indian can perform for himself and his people.



The Robinson Bill

On another page you will find the text of the Robinson Bill, S. 4164. The aim of the bill is sufficiently clear, even though it contains, perhaps, some lines that might be improved. The bill is an excellent measure, for it places responsibility where it belongs and provides measures that will insure speedy attention to Indian interests. The bill will have its opponents. Its foes will cry out that it is an effort to enthrone the Bureau and give it autocratic powers. Its enemies will say that its friends are the dupes of schemers and “gullible victims” of grafters. There will be a fight, but just quietly study with an X-rayed intellect the powers that foment opposition. The result will not be surprising. Then let us labor for the right. Push the Robinson bill by writing your Congressman. Let us have a reign of law.

¹ Mr. Vincent Natalish, an Apache and a civil engineer, has studied this situation carefully for the Indian Bureau and has reported his findings.

Conditions Among the Indians of the Southwest¹

By MATTHEW SNIFFEN

(Secretary of the Indian Rights Association)

DURING the past ten weeks I have been traveling continuously through the Indian country. My first stop was in Oklahoma, and from there I went to the Navajo country; then down among the Fort Apache Indians, the Mescalero, the San Carlos, the Pimas, the Yumas and the Papagos, and then among some of the Pueblos in the vicinity of Santa Fe.

Of course I would like to tell you something of all the conditions I saw there, but what impressed me more than anything else was the need of firm action to protect the rights of at least fifteen thousand Indians in the States of New Mexico and Arizona.

We all recognize the fact that if the Indian is to advance, one of the best means to help him is that of home building, or home making, and without anything like a permanent home his progress is apt to be very unsatisfactory.

The Dawes Act, which became a law in 1887, had a provision encouraging Indians to settle on the public domain, and what is known as the fourth section guaranteed them the right to take up a homestead. It was only the spring of this year that these rights of the Indians in New Mexico and Arizona were seriously threatened by an amendment that was introduced into the Senate by Mr. Fall of New Mexico, and ably seconded by Senator Smith of Arizona, that in effect, had it become a law, would have wiped out any right that the Indians of those two States had toward taking up a homestead on the public domain. The proposition was vigorously contested by various members of this Society and other friends throughout the country to such an extent that the worst feature of the amendment was defeated and the principal damage done was that none of the funds appropriated for the use of the Department in allotting survey work was to be expended in New Mexico or Arizona. Had the Fall amendment gone through in its original form, not only that part would have become a law, but it would have taken away any right of the government to use any moneys whatsoever for the protection of the homes of those Indians.

¹An address delivered before the Third Annual Conference at Denver, Colorado.

When the Navajo Reservation was created in 1868 there were eight thousand of those Indians, and the reservation then set apart — although most of it is worthless — was considered not too large for that number of people. As you all know, the Navajos are industrious, and have always been self-supporting, and, unlike the experience of one of the speakers this morning, I have never found that they were such "easy marks." In fact, my experience has been that they knew the value of a dollar, and were always ready to make one, and I think where he uses money to convert into jewelry it is always the Mexican specie, and he knows that he can get a Mexican dollar for about half what one of our dollars is worth.

The Navajos have very rapidly increased. To-day they are close to thirty thousand. Now, with all their herds, the question of grazing was a very serious one with them, and for generations perhaps from eight to ten thousand of those Navajos have been living on what is known as public domain adjacent to the reservation. A short time ago that land was withdrawn from settlement by executive order, and an allotting agent sent down there to locate the Indians with the idea of protecting them. As you know, also, the white man is pressed for range, and he is also pressing the Indian very hard, with the idea of forcing him from the holdings on which he has been living for these generations. The allotments were made tentatively, but the influence of the political element in Arizona was so strong that under previous administrations nothing was done toward their approval, and then with the attack made by the New Mexico and Arizona Senators on the rights of the Navajos, the thing was still held off.

Among the Papagos, who lived south of Tucson and Pima, the condition, if anything, is worse, because the Papagos have, for the most part, really never had anything done for them, and yet they have been always self-supporting. There has been a railroad projected through that section, and it is likely to still further hamper the Indians. The white man is crowding upon him, even though the land is worthless. It seems to many whites that the fact that an Indian is on there makes it something to seek, and the chances are if the white man did go in that section he would not stay there over three days. I have been over part of it, and I know how barren it is, and I must say that any people that can make a living in a country like that certainly deserve every help the government can give them.

One of the most pathetic things I have seen for some time is a petition that was sent to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs under date of January 10, 1912, by what is known as the Papago Indian

Good Government League, which represents the whole Papago tribe, organized by the progressive Indians, to try to secure the co-operation of the government in putting up day schools and in helping them generally like it has helped other tribes. I would like to read all of it, but time won't permit. There are at least five thousand of those Papagos living on the public domain for whom absolutely nothing has been done. I should qualify that by stating that there certain sections were withdrawn from public settlement by executive order and tentative allotments made to Indians, but as was the case with the Navajos, the political interests prevailed upon the Department to withhold approval of those allotments. The officers of this league state in their petition:

"The allotting work which is going on now is the first work that has ever been done for us by the government. Such work is greatly appreciated by us. The people who are doing the work know that. We have shown our appreciation by helping them when they wanted extra help. We have loaned them teams and wagons when they had need of them. We hauled water for them when they were working in parts where we have nothing but stock water ponds. The water out of these ponds is unfit for human beings to use, but we have been forced to use it all our lives, as we have not any water where we do our dry farming. The wells are far up in the mountains." Then they go on to say:

"We are sadly in need of day schools. We feel we justly deserve to have them. We have been promised day schools ever since the San Xavier Reservation was started; but it is true there is not a single day school in any of the forty-eight villages. We want to become good and useful citizens of our great country, but how are we to become so if the means of securing education is withheld. There is a boarding school at Tucson, which is forty miles off; one boarding school at Phoenix, and one at Riverside. If our children are educated in our villages it will help us to improve our ways of living and help us to live like our white brothers."

Then they give a description of the country and the various villages, and then they say:

"We Papagos are willing to advance and live like white people, but how are we going to do it when we have no schools? A few of our children, have attended a few of the various boarding schools in the country. Some that have gone East have come back sick with consumption, and they don't live long among us.' * * *"

I might state that I have never made a trip where the influence of the returned student was so strong as in the Papago country.

They look up to the returned students, and seem to value their education and want to learn the white man's ways. Then they say:

"None of the school inspectors have gotten any further than the San Xavier Reservation. If your honor desires to send an inspector, we will be glad to show him around the country. There will be no use for anybody to come if he has to hurry off to some other place. It will take a month to look over the country carefully. We will be very glad to help anybody you may send out."

I think we all agree that people who have such stuff in them deserve to be helped, and that there is nothing we ought to leave undone to see that the Papagos do get a fair show. We can look for further efforts on the part of the Senators from New Mexico and Arizona to oppose any project that comes up for bettering the condition, not only of the Papagos, but of the Navajos.

Among other things, the Papagos have sixteen hundred children for whom there are no school facilities. They recognize the value of education and the necessity for it, and that is one reason why they have asked for these day schools that have been promised them ever since they went down there to live.

There is another point in the Indian country that ought to be kept in sight by friends of the Indian, and that is the Mescalero Reservation of New Mexico. It is true that there are not a great many Apaches on the reservation at this time, and from the white man's point of view that seems to be a large amount of country for the use of these Indians. I have been over a considerable portion of it, and I know that there is very little of the land that is valuable for agriculture. You can find small tracts of ten and fifteen acres here and there, but the bulk of the country is solely adapted for grazing. Now that is a very valuable asset, and yet, instead of using it for the Indians' benefit, it has been leased to white stockmen. The day I left, one season's crop of lambs was driven down, and every one of those lambs was bought for \$3.25 a head. Now why have an asset like that and keep the Indians in a position where they are, instead of being independent, absolutely dependent? They have no idea of a permanent home. Most of them live in tents and tepees, and are among the non-progressive Indians with whom I came in contact. They have available timber on that reservation that is estimated to be worth three millions of dollars. If that were sold and the proceeds converted into stock, it would only be a few years before every Indian on that reservation would be absolutely independent.

But last year there was a bill introduced in the Senate, and in the House also, to convert this reservation into a national playground—or a national park—so the people who live in the low lands below there could come up and have it for a pleasure resort. It was also proposed to build a sanitarium on the northwestern corner of the reservation which would include the construction of a road through that portion of the reservation over to the railroad station, a distance of some twelve miles or more. Curiously enough, the sponsor for the bill is the Senator from New Mexico, who has a large ranch, and his line comes right along the reservation line. Of course, he might say he is doing this for the benefit of the Indians, but evidently it will benefit this Senator more than it will the Indians.

These Indians hold that land by executive order, but the Supreme Court has decided that an executive order reservation is just as binding as a treaty reservation, and there would be as much justification for some other Senator to introduce a bill in the Senate creating Senator Falls' ranch, which adjoins the reservation, into a national park as it is to coolly come and say, "This belongs to the Indians, but we will make it a playground for the whites who want to come up here."

There is one thing that I want to remind the members of, and that is the value of developing public opinion. There has been a great deal of misinformation given out, both from Washington and by numerous writers, as to what the real situation is, and on that account it has seemed a little difficult to get the newspapers to pay much attention to Indian affairs; but that is one reason why we should be persistent in our effort. You remember what Secretary Stanton once said to Bishop Whipple when he came down to Washington about some Indian wrongs: "Bishop, why do you come to me? Go to the people. Congress never redresses a wrong until the people demand it." If we will act on that theory I think we can develop a public opinion that will make itself felt in Washington when these matters are pending.

There is another thing we must bear in mind, and that is this: Sometimes when I see various conditions throughout the Indian country and hear different speakers on the subject, it seems to me as though we ourselves have a great deal to learn. It is just like one-half of the Indians did not know how the other half lived. The question is one of development, and we cannot expect the Indian to take a step in a generation or two that has required centuries for the Anglo-Saxon.

The Quaker City Meeting of the Society of American Indians

By ARTHUR C. PARKER

IN THE City of Brotherly Love, on February 14th, the Society of American Indians held its first Quaker City Conference and banquet.

The affair was precipitated so suddenly and its success was so phenomenal that it seemed a splendid response to the question, "Is the Society a living force?" The Philadelphia meeting answered an emphatic "Yes."

Each year our Executive Council holds a midwinter session at its headquarters in Washington. This year, in accord with a plan discussed at Denver, it was found possible to call a general meeting of officers, members and friends. Only two weeks' notice and preparation could be given, and yet in those two weeks all members residing in our Middle Atlantic District were notified. Our object was to carry the results, the message and the spirit of our Denver Conference to the members and friends in the East, and to not only explain our objects, but to have our friends and foes become acquainted with our hopes and aims, for be it known, our foes, all skeptical persons, all critics, all persons of diverse views, find a welcome place in our midst. Ours is a "free platform," and we could never know our errors, attain the greatest usefulness or learn the other side of the story, the other view, unless all men of all opinions were free to come and speak.

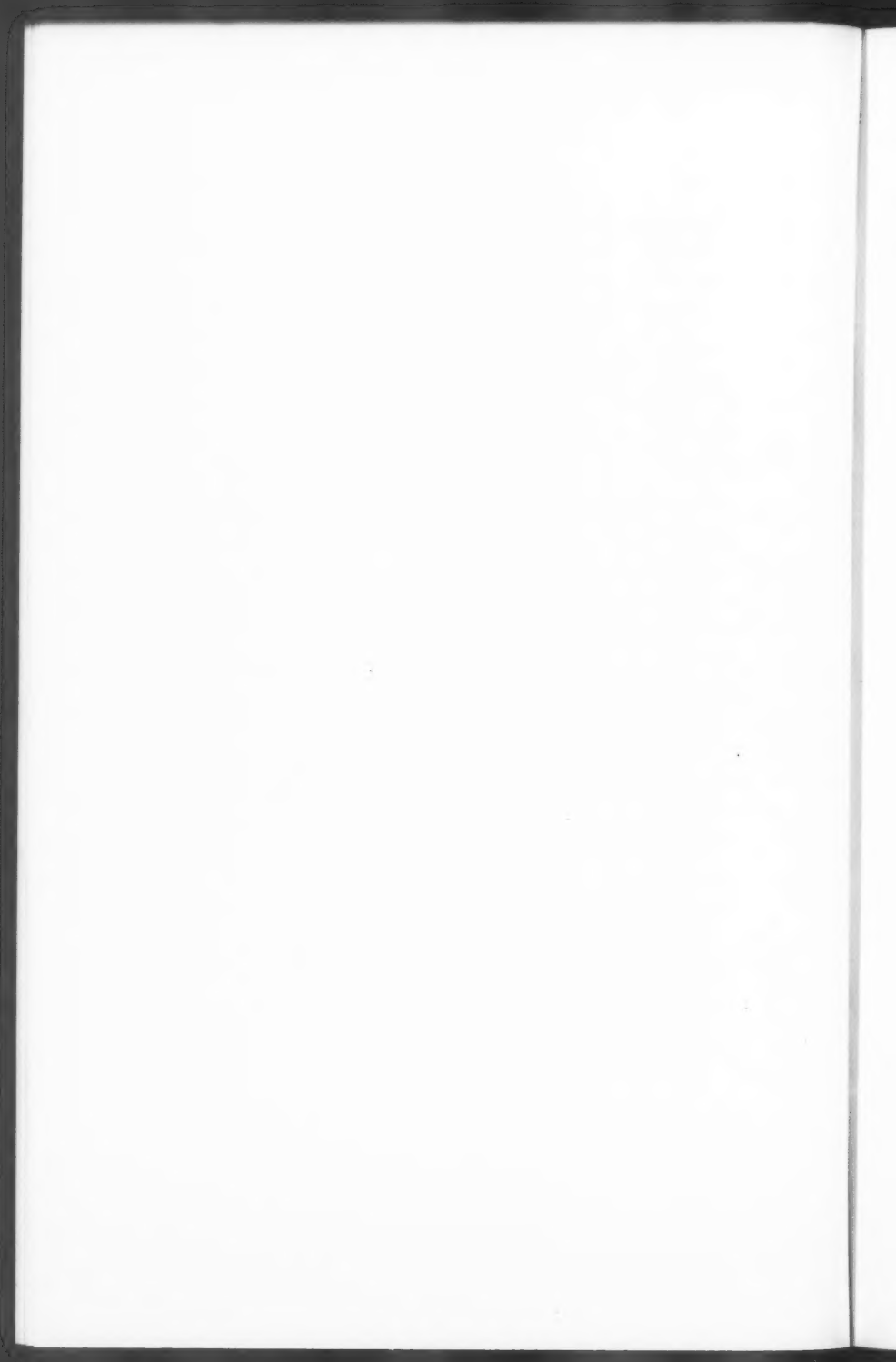
In arranging our meeting we had the co-operation and friendship of many earnest friends of the Indian. Our success is not alone ours; it is equally that of those good friends who stand convinced of our integrity and value.

It was at first thought possible to meet under the auspices of the University of Pennsylvania, but conflicting dates made it more convenient to accept the invitation of the Philadelphia Academy of Science. This is in full keeping with our aim to reach out and affiliate with the great educational institutions of our country.

The short period of time made it impossible for our Vice-President on Education, Emma Johnson Goulette, to be with us, and Congressman Carter was held in Washington, where he was required for his usual skill in shaping the Indian Appropriation Bill. President Coolidge, Vice-Presidents Kershaw and Dagenett and the Secretary were on hand, however, and also Henry Roe-Cloud, Chair-



A corner of the banquet hall at the Hotel Walton, Philadelphia, during the Quaker City banquet of The Society of American Indians, February 14, 1914.
At the speakers' table, from left to right are Chas. E. Dagenett, W. J. Kershaw, Hon. Cato Sells, Sherman Coolidge, A. C. Parker, Carlos Montezuma, Gen. R. H. Pratt, Hon. Gabe E. Parker.



man of the Advisory Board. The opportunity was a splendid one for getting our ideas and plans before Hon. Cato Sells, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. The Commissioner was present as an honored guest, as were also several officials of the Bureau.

The afternoon program in the Academy of Science was limited to three hours, a time altogether too short for the important themes under discussion. Several speakers indeed were unable to find an opportunity for presenting their papers except by title. The invocation was made by Rev. Sherman Coolidge, President of the Society, after which Mr. W. J. Kershaw took the platform as Chairman of the meeting. Mrs. Marie L. Baldwin, a Chippewa lady and an attorney-at-law, spoke on "The Hopes and Aims of the Society." The paper was an excellent presentation, and formed the keynote of the meeting. Mr. Kershaw followed with an address on the "Message of the Denver Conference." Gen. R. H. Pratt read a carefully compiled paper on "The Fathers of the Republic on Indian Transformation and Redemption, with Addendum." General Pratt's paper was a digest of the opinions of the great thinkers in our political history, and forms a real contribution to the history of "the problem." A most remarkable paper, for the thought it contained and the spirit manifested, was the address of Hon. Gabe Parker, the Register of the Treasury, and a citizen of the Choctaw Nation. Mr. Parker's topic was, "The Great End—American Citizenship for the Indian." Two papers were omitted from the program, owing to the absence of the authors. These were "The Ethnologist and the Indian," by Prof. Frank G. Speck of the University of Pennsylvania, and "The Quaker and the Indian," by Prof. R. W. Kelsey of Haverford College.

The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Hon. Cato Sells, spoke briefly, but his address was marked with such an evident conviction of sincerity and appreciation of his official responsibility that it deeply impressed all his auditors. Judge Sells invited the cooperation of the Society and of all good people in making the administration of Indian affairs an efficient one. He invited suggestions and criticism. Mr. H. B. Peairs, Supervisor of Education, spoke on "Indian Education in Government Schools." Mr. Peairs' thoughtful paper, so full of suggestions, is worthy of more than passing consideration. It is published in the February number of the *Red Man*. Patrick J. Hurley, Attorney for the Choctaw Nation, spoke on the "Five Civilized Tribes" in an impressive and interesting way. Mr. Herbert Welch, representing the Indian Rights Association, spoke briefly of the work of the Association and

its aims. The Association will, for a long time to come, have a most useful sphere.

Considering the fact that after a period of pleasant weather and clear streets, a blizzard had suddenly swept over the East, tying up railroads and blocking street traffic, our attendance was remarkably good. Many of our friends were unable to attend, however, and we received many telegraphic regrets.

Possibly the more pleasant portion of the Philadelphia session was the banquet at the Hotel Walton. The banquet room had a large seating capacity, but long before the date of our meeting every seat was bought, and we were compelled to cancel the advance sale of tickets.

The Hotel Walton is situated a few blocks south of the Broad Street Station, and is one of the best in the city. The room was carefully decorated by an expert, and the tables and menu received the personal oversight of the hotel management. The aim of the committee was to hold a banquet that might be regarded as equal to any in polite society. It was here that the time-tried friends of the Indian, and the Indians who likewise have been tested, both by time and by culture, met as friends working for a common cause — the true freedom of the red race.

Among the guests at the banquet were representatives of the New York City Indian Association, the Y. W. C. A., Hampton Institute, the Philadelphia Academy of Science, the University of the State of New York and the State Museum, the American Museum of Natural History, the Indian Rights Association, the Interior Department and Indian Bureau, Haverford College and various other organizations.

The banquet speakers and subjects were necessarily limited, owing to the lateness of the hour. The list follows: 1. "To Abraham Lincoln," a silent toast; 2. "The Papers Say —," by Mr. John M. Oskison; 3. "A Little Knowledge Is a Dangerous Thing," by Mr. Henry Roe-Cloud; 4. "Lift High Poor Lo," by Mr. Matthew K. Sniffin; 5. "If the Crees Increase, What Should the Ojibway?" by Mr. Alanson Skinner; 6. "Unraveling Red Tape," by Mr. Francis; 7. "Who Plays Ball Now?" by Mr. T. L. St. Germain; 8. The address of the evening, "The Reservation Is Fatal to the Development of Citizenship," by Dr. Carlos Montezuma; 9. "What I Wish to Say Is This," by Commissioner Sells; 10. "The Society of Friends and the Society of American Indians," by Prof. R. W. Kelsey; 11. Conclusion by the toastmaster, President Coolidge, "The New-Found Friendship — The Fundamental Interests of All Races Are One."

The entire evening affair was a brilliant one. The ladies were tastefully gowned in evening dress, and the gentleman carefully groomed in full accord with polite society. The red man from farm or college met on an equal basis the white friend from town and college, and upon a higher basis of friendship and good citizenship than ever before in the history of America. The Philadelphia meeting was a step upward, our horizon is enlarged, our friends strengthened, and our means for good enlarged. A deep impression was made upon all, and as one Indian, a college man, said, "When I see the class of men and women, the white friends whom you bring here, and these earnest kinsmen of my blood, I know that any argument against the Society fails. You have won success because you deserve it."

The Society remembered its absent officers, and dispatched greetings to Mrs. Goulette and to Prof. F. A. McKenzie, who for some time has been ill.

Unfortunately, a register of our attendance was not kept, but among the guests at the banquet were the following:

Miss Caroline Andrus, Mr. and Mrs. Louis Armel, Miss Armel, Mr. Sherman Coolidge, Mr. Driver and guest, Miss Edith M. Dabb, Mr. Charles E. Dagenett, Mr. and Mrs. Francis, Mr. Farr and guest, Mr. P. J. Hurley, Mr. Stansbury Hagar, Mr. Harris, Mr. Haynes, Mr. Robert Hamilton, Mrs. R. B. LaFlesche, Mrs. John Markoe and guest, Dr. Joseph Murphy, Dr. Carlos Montezuma, Mr. and Mrs. Newashe, Mr. John M. Oskison, Mrs. Pennock and two guest, Mr. P. J. Hurley, Mr. Stansbury Hagar, Mr. Harris, Mr. Gabe E. Parker, Mr. Frank Piquette, Miss Randolph, Miss Randolph, Mr. Henry Roe-Cloud, Mrs. W. C. Roe, Mr. Rickert, Mr. Samuel Saunooke, Miss Emery, Mr. T. L. St. Germain, Miss Saunooke, Mr. Alanson B. Skinner, Mr. T. L. Sloan, Mr. Smith, Mr. Weshinawtok and guests, Mr. W. J. Kershaw, Mrs. Kershaw, Mr. Young and two guests, Miss J. Newell Wardle, Mr. Herbert Welsh, the Misses Richards, Mr. James Wheelock, Mrs. Marie L. B. Baldwin, Miss Dora B. McCauley, Mr. and Mrs. Clayberger and guest, Miss Melissa Cornelius and guest, Miss Lathers and guest, General R. H. Pratt and two guests, Mr. Matthew K. Sniffin, Commissioner Cato Sells, Mr. and Mrs. Lewis Shotridge and guests, Mr. and Mrs. Nash, Miss Selkirk and Amos One Road.

The local meeting in Philadelphia in no way resembled a National Conference nor did it have any of the functions of the yearly meeting. Its aim was only a better acquaintance and for the help of the Executive Council.

*The Great End: American Citizenship for the Indian*¹

By GABE E. PARKER

MR. CHAIRMAN, members of the Society of American Indians, ladies and gentlemen: It affords me pleasure to be here on this occasion and to express my approval of the purposes of this Society. It is proper and important for the American Indians to have an organization of this character. Those Indians and our white friends who have given unselfishly of their time and effort to this cause, deserve the credit and co-operation of all Indians and their friends. A Society whose foundation is the principle of mutual helpfulness, and whose activities are in the interest of education and progress, has the splendid opportunity to render valuable service.

I have been requested to speak to you on the subject, "The Great End: American Citizenship for the Indian." The American Indian has occupied a unique position in the life of this nation. He has been independent in his tribal relations, yet dependent upon the government which has surrounded him. He has been regarded as a sovereign, yet treated as a ward. He has been a part of the government, yet not a member of it. He has been subject to the laws of the land, yet often without protection under them, and without the right to participate in their enactment. He has been expected to conform to the ways of civilized life, yet he has been restrained to his tribal relations. Notwithstanding these paradoxical relations, he has made excellent progress; but much remains to be done by him and by the government before the proper relation shall be obtained.

When the Government of the United States confers its citizenship upon an individual, the greatest opportunities and responsibilities of the world are thereby conferred. The opportunities for individual effort and progress are nowhere surpassed, and the responsibilities for preserving, developing and perpetuating our institutions of freedom constitute an infinite honor and a life of devoted service. This government is founded upon the aspirations of Plymouth Rock, inspired by the Declaration of 1776, and preserved by the valor of Yorktown. Truly, this is the "land of the free and the home of the brave." Certainly every resident of such a

¹ A paper read before the Philadelphia local meeting of the Society of American Indians, February, 14, 1914.

land should desire to be its citizen, and surely such a land will not deny the worthy.

Statistics show approximately 304,640 Indians by blood in the United States. Of this number 166,311 are citizens and 138,329 are still without the privileges of citizenship. Nearly one-half the Indians of the United States are not its citizens. The law provides that Indians who sever their tribal relations and adopt the habits and customs of civilized life, those who select allotments, and those who receive patents in fee, thereby become citizens of the United States. It is therefore evident that nearly half our Indians still maintain tribal relations, have not selected allotments, or have not received patents in fee. Since these requirements of law must be met before there can be citizenship for the Indian, the plain duty of all concerned is to remove as rapidly as possible these barriers to the Indian's real chance for progress and independence.

However reluctant the Indian may be to depart from his tribal relations and customs, and with due regard for the fancies of the sentimentalist who believes he is the Indian's best friend, the irresistible fact remains that tribal relations must be abandoned and the responsibilities of American citizenship must be assumed before the Indian can become a self-supporting and contributing factor in this nation.

Standards of life are the result of changes; likewise, changes are often the result of standards. What we are to-day is not what we were yesterday. Everywhere we find progression or retrogression, integration or disintegration. The philosophy of life is the philosophy of change. The important consideration, then, is that out of inevitable change shall come the best and widest sphere of life. How may there be the best? And how may we know it? These are the great questions of life, and probably will not be answered this side of the Great Beyond. But our constant attempts to answer them furnish the means of our advancement and the hope of our reward. The individual or the nation who embodies the best answers to these questions has made the greatest advancement and enjoys the greatest rewards. Each succeeding generation ought to be wiser and better than its predecessor, because it has the successes of the past to impel, the mistakes to deter and the strength to guide.

Upon the foundation of the past rests the condition of the Indian of the present. With few exceptions, a magnificent foundation; with many regrets, and incommensurate consummation. It is true that the self-sacrificing missionary has done much to banish superstition and to inculcate the Gospel of eternal life; that education and

environment have joined hands to impart a knowledge of a common language and the skill to earn a living under new conditions, and that our government has exercised a good-intentioned, paternal guardianship. Still, the voice of the past cries out for the thousands who have perished — reminds us that progress has been too slow, and implores us to regard the Indian as a man, with the capabilities and the possibilities of a man.

At the beginning every one must have seen that the inevitable, final result had to be either extermination or assimilation, and the basis of any policy should have been laid accordingly, else the policy would be out of harmony with the inevitable, and a failure in the end. Certainly no one thought of extermination, hence assimilation should have been the basis, and every possible provision made for the Indian to grow into that kind of citizenship to be prescribed and developed in these United States. Every inducement to break away from tribal, clannish relations, to learn the English language, to depend upon individual effort for maintenance — in short, to live as and like the white people themselves propose to live — should be offered, and all laws, rules and regulations should make it possible for the Indian to be localized individually, to have possession of himself, with the fewest possible restrictions on his initiative, ingenuity and disposition to accommodate himself to the white man's ways.

While the Indian of to-day shows great progress toward thinking and living in the substance of this civilization, still this progress is too often defective in the one vital essential of self-reliance. This is not the Indian's fault, neither from heredity nor from choice. The fundamental fault lies in the construction of the Indian's ownership of land as being only the "right of occupancy." Such a title, if indeed it can be called a real title, has had neither stability nor security; certainly it has not encouraged individual sagacity or industry; in fact, it has been a community restriction which has now passed to the individual where allotments have been made. It is hard to get away from the idea that the Indian has only the "right of occupancy," for, indeed, a restricted individual title is nothing more nor less. We must get away from this idea if the Indian is to make real progress. Give the Indian a real title to some land, with real privileges and responsibilities of his own. Give him what he has been led to believe he will receive in lands and moneys, with restrictions only on those who are determined by personal investigation to be incompetent, those restrictions to be the fewest possible. There is probably no surer or quicker way to develop self-reliance and individual effort than by making a man earn his own support,

and there is probably no surer or quicker way to extinguish these essential qualities than by giving him something for no effort on his part. Herein lies the difference between success and failure. The moving, ration and expectant systems must cease before individual effort and progress will begin. Quit doing so much for the Indian; permit and require him to do more for himself; give him a real chance. Regard the Indian as a man; think more of his personal development, and remember that competency is the result of performance, not of enunciation. Thereby will the Indian be prepared for American citizenship.



Letting the Indian Know

Time after time Indians make requests, base actions, ask privileges, or strongly assert certain principles, only to discover after great cost in time and money that they are wrong and that their wishes are denied. Some agency ruling or order issued from the Indian Office long since had overturned their hope. Suffering results, confusion results, and the Indian comes more and more to believe that government means oppression and tyranny. On the other hand the citizen comes to believe that the Indian is a chronic malcontent. Who is at fault?

If, indeed, it is true that the Indian Bureau wishes to protect the Indian justly and to make him a happy, useful being, then it would seem that infinite pains and patience would be used to explain carefully and clearly every ruling or order affecting the interests of an Indian community. This would not only be a mercy but a simple application of rudimentary justice. As matters have stood many times, however, *the Indian has been the last person in all the world to be given an understanding of the orders or rulings that most vitally affected his life, property and happiness.* No one seems to have considered that the Indians needed to know anything about "Washington orders." This is not only unmerciful but little short of criminal. No Indian should be considered "so much of an animal" or "so ignorant" that his interests should be affected without his knowledge. Councils should be called, circulars should be distributed and every means should be taken to make an understanding possible. The new administration must think of these things if mistakes are to be avoided and the Indians are to be thought of as primary. Notify the Superintendent some time, of course, but first of all let the individual Indians know what is being done to them, O powers that issue mandates. Or shall it continue to be systems first and men last?

*Educating the White Man Up to the Indian*¹

By FRANK G. SPECK, of the University of Pennsylvania

IN THE past year or so I have written several articles for the *Southern Workman* and the *Red Man*², expressing some views on Indian assimilation from the point of view held by field ethnologists who live largely among the Indians, and also by real Indians who understand the relative position of their own culture as a whole to that of the Europeans who are supplanting them in their own country. Some of these articles attracted enough attention to seem to justify me in presenting some additional points. The spirit of my papers is directed against the opinions of administrators and educational enthusiasts whose voices are so loud in gatherings where plans are laid and policies discussed concerning the Indian, but who know little or nothing of the quality and spirit of Indian institutions. The spirit of their discussions, both in print and on the platform, is much too deprecatory to the Indian. A man who knows only one side of a subject involving the destiny of a race and who wants to speak, chiefly because he is the exponent of a certain policy, and who does not really understand what this policy will ultimately lead to, had better remain silent until he has lived with and studied the people with whom he desires to experiment. Should we not demand that people who are to take serious parts in Indian affairs be people who really know the Indians by contact, and not those who merely know about them. Where, indeed, would be the difficulty in the Indian problem if the administrators were all men who had spent some part of their lives living sympathetically with the Indians and learning their languages, philosophy and history. The laughable complaints against the "degraded condition of savages dwelling in tents!" etc., would not be heard so frequently from the speaker's platform, because the student finds when first studying ethnology that the prehistoric cultures of the Americans are of extreme antiquity, fraught with complexities both in material and mental life. Moreover, these show parallels in some respects to the corresponding stages in Old World history. This knowledge, then, at first arouses feelings of

¹A paper prepared for the Philadelphia local meeting of the Society of American Indians, February 14, 1914.

²*Southern Workman*, Hampton Institute, Va., "Conservation for the Indian," June, 1912; also *ibid.*, January, 1914, "Basis of Indian Ownership of Land and Game;" also *Red Man*, Carlisle, Pa., June, 1913, and September, 1913.

respect. Next, with deeper investigations into the wealth of mythological lore, ceremonial life, and industrial adaptations to all sorts of native environments, the feeling of wonder and respect grows into admiration. Next in the mind of the student comes the reactionary sentiment, where comparison between these aboriginal cultures and our own modern and complex one, with all its faults and weak places, as well as virtues, leads to the conviction that questions of superiority in culture, represented, of course, by beauty of language, wealth of expression, poetry, music, art, philosophy and industries, is largely a question of preference. It is only when one has come broad-mindedly to a point where he can realize the good underlying the spirit of all types of culture that he can be considered rational and impartial in judging race qualities without any egotism. So with the Indian. We admire him for his bravery and obstinacy in defending his country against an alien invader in the old days. We are beginning to learn that more massacres were perpetrated by our own frontiersmen against him than he perpetrated against us. We are learning more of his magnanimity, now that the fighting days are over and he has submitted to a relentless nation of those who claim to be his superiors. We admire him for his native ideas of hospitality, his racial pride, his original moral purity, his manly bearing, his athletic prowess, his knowledge of nature, his complex social and rich ceremonial life, in some respects no cruder or more barbarous than the dogmas and practices of some of our Christian sects. We admire his love of truth, his respect for womankind. In addition, we envy the whole race for its wonderful art techniques, designs and symbolism, its picturesque garb, its perfection of devices for hunting, fishing and transportation, and its achievements in plant domestication. This summary, exaggerated as it may seem to some, is indeed only a partial one. Since I cannot attempt to teach ethnology in a short article, I shall have to assume some education in ethnology among my readers.

Can we now arraign the founders of these aboriginal cultures with savagery when, indeed, the worst thing they did was to become desperately vengeful toward the white people who at first tried to drive them by force from their homes, and now, it seems to me, judging by the sentiments expressed by some writers, are trying to disperse and disband them by overwhelming their leaders with the pseudo-logical prant of self-disintegration?

If we believe in this category of native virtues, and it is only too true, of course, as everybody who knows the Indians realizes, then are we to try to emasculate them and educate them out of the

institutions and traits that we admire them for? By what authority are we called upon to deculturate them, to transform them completely to the likeness of ourselves? It can only be out of self-pride in our own institutions which would lead us to ask any other race considering itself, not without reason, to be as good as we are, to lay itself down and be stripped bare of its own, and be reclothed with our own ways? It is a question whether any self-respecting Indian who knows his own language and institutions would entirely consent to this method. Education is not deculturation — education should be constructive, using as a basis the spirit of tribal life which every race possesses for its own strengthening.

Let us consider the question of native languages. We might as well prate to the Germans or the French people in America about dropping their own languages in their homes, and then send them to school to re-acquire, by the present imperfect means of teaching languages in our schools, the advantages of their own languages, and even Latin and Greek. Even further, what would it sound like if our spirit of self-conceit were so strong as to induce us to urge the Swiss, the German or Italian peasants to conform to the superiority of our own language and ways? There are, fortunately, some white people who know that the different Indian languages, included in over fifty different stocks in North America, are much more beautiful in grammatical structure and richer than many of the European languages. Will these people permit native idioms to be lost as the result of misdirected educational enthusiasm? On the contrary, there are more and more people, whose range of knowledge is broadening, coming to realize the wealth of literature in Indian tongues to be drawn upon in the future. When it comes to talking about serving this country, cannot the Indian serve himself and the country best by standing upon his own institutions, with, of course, modifications which are unavoidable nowadays, as the exponent of out-door life, the ideal of the Boy Scouts movement, interpreter of nature, the guide in the out-door world, the fisherman, forester, fire and game warden, rancher, farmer and herder, with all that goes with these clean, natural pursuits, rather than by becoming a sweat-shop, factory or office slave in our already overcrowded industrial sphere? The Indians should, of course, preferably marry within their own race and raise their children in a full knowledge of their respective dialects, traditions and institutions. Fortunately, many of them do not need to be told this. The most educated, as well as the least educated of them, do it in spite of all the preaching and legislation in the world. This is because they realize the pitiful state of the

native who can neither speak his own language nor answer questions on his own tribal customs. Such a man is almost an outcast among cultured and intelligent white people because he is holding on to a mere bubble of racial pride. Most educated and far-sighted people of both races realize that if the native loses entirely his individuality, then he becomes debased to the colorless social stratum of the other dark-skinned people in our country. An Indian with no native individuality is to the public at large merely a dark-skinned man who passes casually in the busy work-a-day American world, most unfortunately, as either a mulatto, Japanese, Chinaman, Italian or Syrian. Moreover, the shame of it is that when thoroughly deculturated the Indians often lose their pride enough to mingle and marry with their social inferiors among certain classes of negroes or whites.

Now, how can we, in truth and honesty with ourselves and our friends, the Indians, ask them to lower themselves socially to the status of our heterogeneous dark-skinned masses? The thing which holds the Indian up in his Indian-ness, so to speak. Let us then foster this in him for his own salvation and preservation as one of the finest types of mankind. Do not thoughtlessly take away what ages of natural independent development have given him. But in the process of education, let us stimulate him to keep what makes him his own distinctive self, and then add and develop what he can get of good from the white man. The white man who knows the Indian loves him for his being an Indian, not for becoming apishly made over into a white man. I must be excused for not referring to what the white people, who only know the native through bloody stories or the moving-picture shows, may think of him. What the ethnologist is doing is to live with and learn from the native; to make a true record of his life and culture. These records cannot fail to educate the white people who study such works, and who, indeed, should study such works, if they are going to take any part in administration, up to an appreciation of the Indian on the inside. The ethnologist never takes his stand against native culture in which he sees so much good, by contact, that he objects to educating the Indian down to the level of the average community white man. There are many sides to this question which will arise in the minds of the reader, according to how much or how little he knows of the relative status of the Indian and the nondescript white man of the ranch, the mine, the shop, the factory, the farm, the business world, or the profession; of him in the gutter and him in the mansion. Is Indian conservatism to be branded as reversionism? Let us not

talk nonsense. Are the conservatists to be accused of sentimentalism? Let us not talk like sophomores or school girls. Indian conservatism is neither of these. It is very hard-headed, because it will not permit the Indian to be downed, or to be hypodermically injected with civilianism, just because it belongs to the white man and because he is in power. A period of renaissance is at hand for the native Indian, but unless he emphasizes and enforces the maintenance of his native pride and institutions throughout, as far as changing conditions of life and environment will permit, he will decline until he will be only a memory in the next few generations. We who are the associates of the old Indians, who know something of their inner philosophy of life, language and culture, love them for these very things, and with our scholastic education and field training as a balancer to and a check upon false conceptions of what education should be, we insist upon their inherent right to exist in their own name as long as they have any pride in it.

As to tribal disintegration, here is another matter of misdirection. Anybody who advocates total tribal disintegration is manifestly advocating race murder. For the moment that any band of Indians gives up at least some semblance to tribal organization, whether it be an actual tribal government or merely even an incorporated body bearing a tribal name, on a par, for instance, with some fraternal or social orders, at that moment it seals its own fate. As each tribe or group of tribes is a unit, so they must hold out, or else fade away. And what tribe wants to fade away? Might as well some powerful foreign nation establish propagandist centers in the States, trying to convert us to some foreign idea that we should dissolve our national feelings for the sake of assimilating its higher life. To be candid, the Indian tribes have as much a right to their native patriotism as a British subject has to his or the American to his own. Ought we not to encourage the Indian in his own patriotism if we admire it in ourselves?

Of course, it is necessary for the Indians to build themselves up by all possible means in education and adaptation, basing their growth in this land, which is their own, upon their own splendid abilities and judgment, each tribe gradually selecting its own process along the line of least resistance in accordance with, and framed in, its own historic past. Under this process of upbuilding under the tribal sense of pride in lineage and institutions the minor details as to what these may include will take care of themselves automatically, because all evolution in culture, as well as in life, takes care of its own details of adjustment.

*The Reservation is Fatal to the Development of Good Citizenship*¹

By CARLOS MONTEZUMA, M.D.

NO MORE instructive study for the American public can be found than in the following pathetic incident, which is related as authentic, when several years ago there was a band of Indian chiefs visiting Washington.

As a guide was pointing out to the members of the tribe the different paintings of historical interest in the rotunda of the capitol, he directed their attention to the representation over the east entrance, which presented "The Landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth Rock," with an Indian in the foreground holding out an ear of corn to the strangers. All passed the picture without a comment, save one old chief, who, giving a characteristic Indian grunt, sagely remarked:

"Indian gives pale face corn."

When the representation of "Penn's Treaty with the Indians," which is over the door leading into the Senate, was pointed out to the chiefs, the same chief grunted again and remarked:

"Indian gives pale face land."

As the guide was concluding his remarks after pointing out the representation of "Pocahontas Saving the Life of Captain Smith," the chief grunted and remarked:

"Indian saves pale face's life."

Then the guide pointed out the representation of the "Young American in the West," with a dead Indian at his feet, which is over the west door leading into the Senate. Here the old chief stopped, heaved a sigh, and in tones deep with pathos, said:

"After all, pale face kills Indian."

That eloquent Christian preacher, the Rev. Wendell Phillips, once said:

"The Indian race is the one which the people of the United States have most to dread at the Judgment Bar of Almighty God."

How often have I been asked by Indian missionaries: "Doctor, why don't you go back to your people, and there work for them?" "Thank you," I would answer, "but I believe I can do more good for my people by being their voice in civilization and their missionary in Chicago."

¹ An address delivered before the Philadelphia local meeting of the Society of American Indians, February 14, 1914.

Back, back; go back to your people! has echoed and re-echoed from generation to generation; and the poor, cheated, robbed and imprisoned Indian human beings are back in everything.

America stands pre-eminent for the unity of races and freedom of the individual. But with the Indian it has been established that the real problems are *methods* and *systems*, and not the man himself.

The difficulties we find in our efforts to bring out the Indian as a man and a citizen among men are of our *own* creation. History, or even our own experience and common sense, ought to have shown us years ago that if we really wanted to civilize and assimilate the Indians, we were pursuing a course that must necessarily frustrate our designs.

The first great barrier to be removed in all work of assimilating and unifying our diverse population is the barrier of difference in languages.

The process of giving the American language to foreigners who are willing to disperse among us is so simple and effective that it gives us no concern — scarcely, in fact, attracts attention.

No special school is needed, no special teacher or organized effort. It is self-operative. Is there not a lesson in this? We organize and force upon the Indian through our sustaining of the tribal relation by the congesting system of Indian reservations a condition calculated to not only discourage but to entirely prevent his acquiring the American language except in the impractical, homeopathic way we choose to dispense it to him by expensive, theoretical schools established in his communities.

The foreigner, while getting the language practically through the freedom of association, continues to obey also the decree of the Almighty: "In the sweat of his face shall man eat bread." All the other vital principles of the American accommodates and unifies itself with them. On the contrary, our Indian schools on the reservations are weak and inefficient because lacking in the essential elements of practical experience, association and competition, and not calculated to lift the Indian into the courage and ability to struggle and compete, but tend rather to create a fear of these conditions and make him shrink from the very competition necessary to enable him to reach his place as an independent man and citizen.

We make a great pretense of helping, and do give inordinate sums of money in purchase of land, and for their support, their schools, for their agricultural and other necessary development

in preparation for citizenship, but does it accomplish the purpose? There is not an Indian tribe, community or even individual Indian, that has been favored with anything like such opportunities to acquire the true spirit of American life as are at once fully and continually accorded to the foreign emigrant.

Inviting the Indian to always look to the government for support, instead of continuing to rely upon his own right arm, is one of the great evils of the system. Be the sum ever so small, the receiving of an annuity is to them, as they are now, the greatest of all events of the year.

The small number of Indians in the United States — not enough in number to make a West Side of Chicago — this small number, especially the Indian children, should have their privileges beyond the tribe, the privilege of seeing and knowing what the United States is. Reservations for Indians means the reservation from experiences and from opportunities for education and betterment in industry. The policy is wrong. There should be willingness, helpfulness, invitation and push on our part to get the Indians, and especially the children, out into the active life of the nation. Indians should be helped less from Washington — helped less in tribal education, and helped *more* to come into actual relations with our general industrial and educational systems.

We do not hesitate to take a million foreigners into our country in one year, and at once disperse and citizenize them. We do not hesitate to invite and persuade boys and girls of all countries to abandon their homes and languages and come here to become a very part of our population. Why not urge and insist upon the Indians to come out where there is encouragement and help to rise, and thus make a beginning for these people to escape from their reservation prisons?

We compelled the negro, and invited Huns and Italians and the Irish and everyone else to come and live with us. Why not invite the Indians, and give them the same chance, and so find out what they can do? There are only 300,000 Indians outside of Alaska. If, instead of forcibly holding them "together on reservations and in tribes," our every influence helped them to chances away from the reservations, then their interests and ours would soon be a common one, and that would be the end.

The contact of peoples is the best of all education. I could give you unlimited instances where Indians by association with other people became in all respects like them — in thought, speech and deed.

Under democratic principles we have established the public school system, where people of all races may become unified in every way and loyal to the government. We do not gather the people of one nation into schools by themselves and the people of another nation into other schools by themselves, but we invite the youth of all people into all schools. We shall not succeed in Americanizing the Indian unless we take him in in exactly the same way.

Purely Indian schools say to the Indian :

" You are Indians, and must remain Indians ; you are not of the nation, and cannot become of the nation. We do not want you to be of the nation."

It is a great mistake to think that the Indian is born an inevitable savage. He is born a blank, like all the rest of us. Left in his primitive surroundings, he grows to possess a primitive language, superstition and life. We, surrounded by civilization, grow to possess a civilized language, life and purpose. Transfer the pale face infant to savage surroundings, and he will grow to possess a savage language, superstition and habit. Transfer the pappoose to the surroundings of civilization, and he will grow to possess a civilized language and habit.

These results have been established over and over again beyond all question, and it is also well established that those advanced in life, even to maturity, of either class, lose the already acquired qualities belonging to the side of their birth and gradually take on those of the side to which they have been transferred.

No evidence is wanting to show that the Indian can not become a capable and willing factor in our industries if he has the chance.

Indian schools must of necessity remain for a time ; but the highest purpose of *all* Indian schools ought to be only to prepare the young Indian to enter the *public* and *other* schools of the country, and immediately to be so prepared for his own good and the good of the country ; he should be advanced into these other schools, there to temper, test and stimulate his brains and muscles into the capacity he needs for his struggle to secure the good things of life in competition with us.

An examination shows that no Indians within the limits of the United States have acquired any sort of capacity to meet and cope with the pale faces in civilized pursuits who did not gain that ability by going among them and out from the reservations ; and that *many have* gained this ability by so going out. Theorizing or idealizing citizenship into a people is an impossible operation.

What a farce it would be to attempt to teach American citizenship to the negroes in Africa. They could not understand it; and if they did, in the midst of such contrary influences, they could make very little use of it. Neither can the Indians understand or use American citizenship theoretically taught to them on Indian reservations. *They must get into the swim of American citizenship.* They must feel the touch of it day after day, until they become saturated with the spirit of it, and thus become equal to it.

And everywhere is the truth proclaimed, that would you rise, would you grow, would you advance, would you realize the possibilities within your grasp, then out with you; Mongolian, out with you; African, out with you; Caucasian, out with you; aboriginal Americans, or so-called Indians, into the great world, where everybody meets everybody from every nation and country; for all the earth is man's habitation — on land and on sea.

Some years ago, in the Press Club of Chicago, the late deceased Stanley Waterloo approached me and said: "Dr. Montezuma, at the time of your capture I was living in California, and your people were bloodthirsty savages. They were devils. Annihilation was the best thing for them. Between the Indian and myself there was a fathomless chasm." He took my hand, and looked into my face, and continued: "We are in this same room; you see me and I see you. You understand what I say to you, and I understand what you say to me. I know you and you know me. Am I right?" he asked. I replied that he was right. Gripping my hand firmer and with sublime emotion he said: "Then, Dr. Montezuma, you have filled up that chasm; we are brothers of one blood."

Originally the Indian Department had one object, and that was to protect and to bring the Indians into civilization, and to do away with itself as soon as possible; but instead of that, you and I know that it has added to and strengthened itself as though it was going to exist forever.

Many foolish things have been introduced into the Indian schools. They study Indian basketry, Indian blanketry, Indian pottery, Indian art, Indian music, and other general Indian industries of a past generation; but where does this help the Indian children into the ways of civilization?

The irrigation projects and the forestry projects have each taken away lands and timber from the Indians in the most scandalous manner.

One can hardly conceive that the Indian Office approves, and in instances encourages, such proceedings; but consider that the Bureau

has become one great machine, with the most extraordinary autocratic powers.

One could scarce imagine in this civilized age that four Indians can be taken, without any charge preferred against them, and, upon an agent's request, locked up in a State jail for weeks, at last to be freed when a prominent attorney requests the sheriff for information as to the cause of the imprisonment. He is told that the sheriff knows of no charge, and the Indians are set free. The Indians claim their only offense was their peaceably expressed refusal to take allotments, and for this, without any formal charge but to make an example of them, an Indian agent causes these four Pima Indians to be lodged in the jail at Phoenix, Arizona, and there kept confined for weeks.

In the eyes of the public the Indian has been, and in most instances today is still, an outlawed creature, with no rights that protect the ordinary human being. Governed by a machine whose agents have most despotic powers, and whose unscrupulous actions in many instances "smell to heaven."

All praise to the many honest, intelligent and hard-working agents in the Indian Bureau, but God deliver us from the knaves that disgrace and corrupt its service.



Learn to Accumulate a Surplus

Every man must learn to make more than he can use, and to produce on his farm more than he needs to eat for the time being. The laborer must learn to lay aside a certain amount of money — *for future use*. There is nothing more pitiful than a hand-to-mouth existence. Accumulate a surplus and that surplus will give you power. The Indian must learn this lesson and by his thrift store up his wealth for future use. He must not be content with things that last for a short time; he must not be content with simply living his life as easily as possible. He must improve his lands, build good houses, leave goods and money for his children. All great nations leave for their children the results of their thrift. By constantly storing up energy, knowledge, and conserving lands and fortunes men and nations become great and leave for their descendants a foundation for still greater endeavor. My Indian brother, what have you stored away for a rainy day? What have you personally added to the value of the world?

Higher Education in Public Schools and Colleges for the Indian

By BERTRAM BLUESKY (Seneca)

THE attending of public schools and colleges by the Indian is one radical solution to the Indian problem. In a few sections of the country the college-bred Indian is already appearing on the horizon of public affairs. A few more years of unceasing effort to educate the Indian wards of the government in the public schools and colleges will gradually lift the Indian race from its former state into a useful and productive race.

If once the Indian race gets a firm foothold in the web of the nation's life, no force will ever deprive it of its lofty elevation. At this age of the race's life the powers that are so noticeable in the Anglo-Saxon race, or other races whose contributions to the country's welfare are marked well, are yet undeveloped. Early history speaks of the Indian's powers of resistance and combination. When the Indian was overcome by a stronger race in the struggles for supremacy these powers were reduced to a latent state and overshadowed by the introduction of the forces of Eastern civilization. These latent powers are now being awakened to development, and are being fused with those forces which are contributing most to American progress to-day.

To the government is due much credit for raising a few members of the Indian race as producing factors in the industrial world. It has done it through Indian school methods of instruction in art and industry. Its tactics in accustoming the young generations of the Indian race to those civilizing influences of an educated race are solely modern. An even wiser method of transforming the Indian race into self-supporting people could have been instituted when it undertook the problem of training young Indians into useful, respected and competent workmen.

Over thirty years ago industrial education was instituted for the Indian. It was a good policy to begin with, and is yet effective. Industrial education will always continue to be one of the rapid solutions to the Indian problem. Portions of the Indian race will always find favor in industrial education, but it is not enough. There must be more than industrial training in Indian schools.

The time has now arrived when the Indian must also seek the higher education in our high schools and colleges. Those members

of the Indian race who have sought for the higher enlightenment of education in public schools and colleges, and who have placed themselves into positions of marked character, have proven that if a few individuals of the race can attain distinction as progressive men among progressive men, more of the race can follow the same paths and reach similar goals. The eyes of the whole nation of late have begun to be centered upon the college-bred Indian, and, to its wonderment, he seems to be weaving himself successfully and modestly into the fabric of the nation.

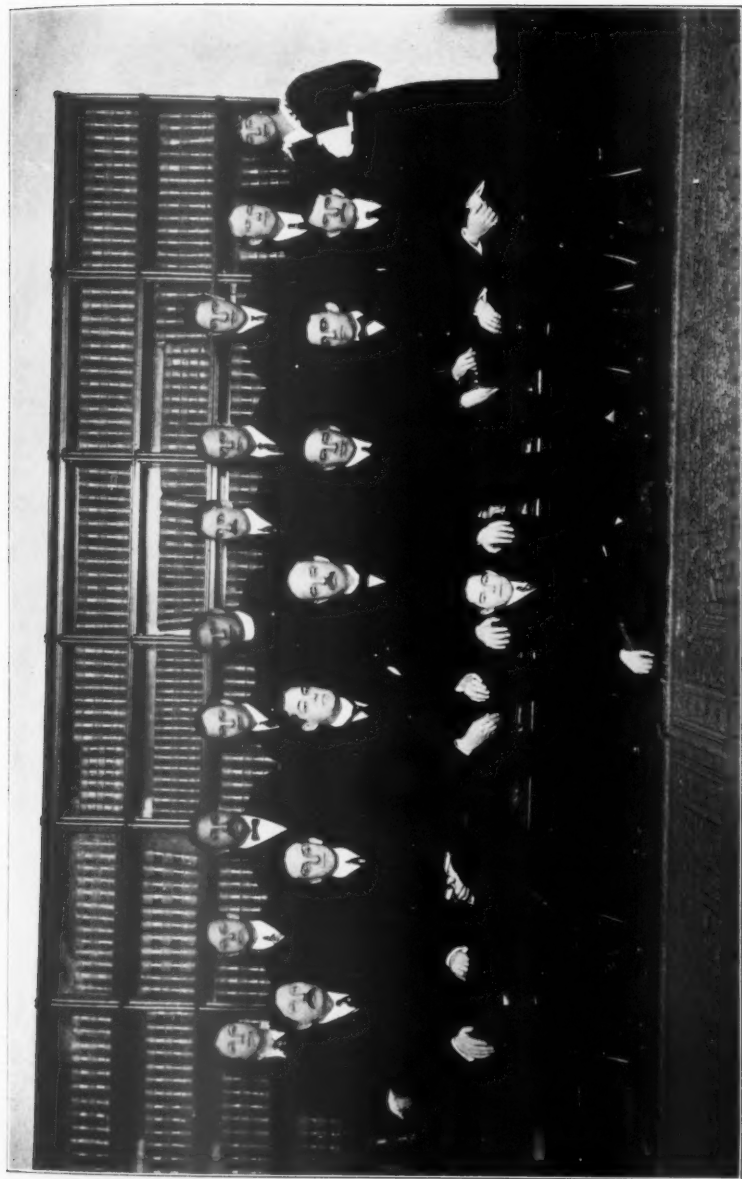
With a fusion of Indian youths into public schools and colleges of the country the race would continually be educated and trained out of its tribal past into an understanding of useful American life.

Evidence is proving that the learning of trades has contributed a great part toward elevating a good fraction of the race to the industrial class of producers. But to compete in the more complex and hurly-burly life which characterizes American civilization, the Indian race must be educated in science, art and literature as well. Science will develop the Indian's faculty of more abstract reasoning; art will improve his aesthetic nature; literature will make him a master of the English language.

When a fifth part of the Indian race throughout the country has attained a public school or college education the solution of the Indian problem will take on greater rapidity. For it is then that the rest of the race will be affected by the refinement and culture of the more well-to-do and disciplined members of the race. This wave of advance toward seeking the lights of education must have its initiation through the agency of the more educated class of the Indian race, whose duty must be to champion the cause of higher education in the public schools and colleges by stirring and persistent addresses and heart-to-heart conversations with the lesser inclined and lesser educated and more conservative members of the race.

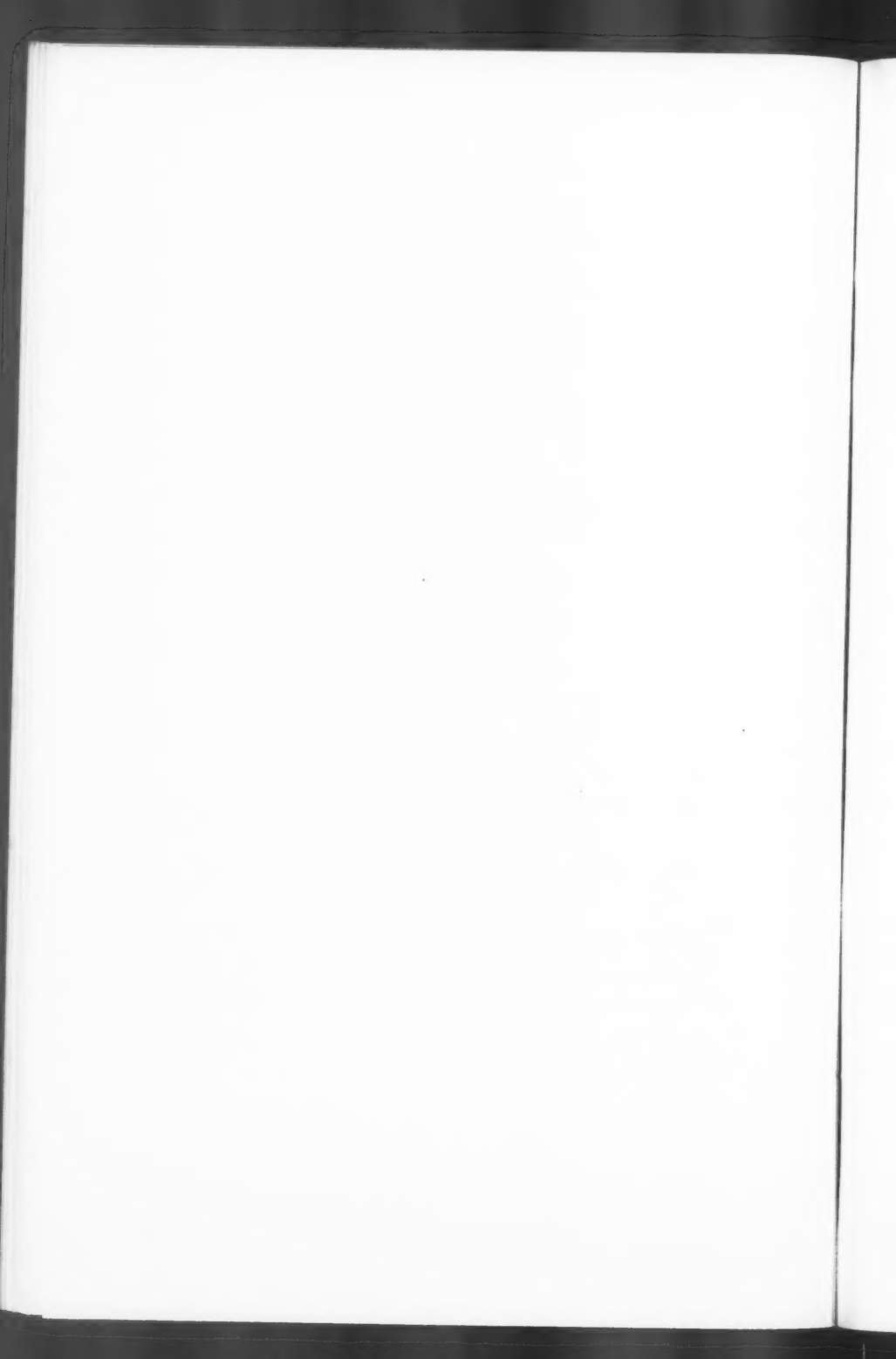
When a few members of the Indian race have come to realize the value of a high school and college education in connection with life, and drawn themselves toward it, their transformation from the status of a consumer to a producer of the wealth of the nation will at once begin. Their conservative ideas and notions will be overcome by a desire for newer and better things of life, and powers, so long latent, will once more appear vigorously striving with competitive forces, so imperative in the race for life.

Fredonia Normal School, Fredonia, N. Y.



A modern Indian delegation conferring with the Commissioner and Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

Standing, left to right: Mrs. Marie L. Baldwin, Chippewa, Clerk, Indian Office, Chas. E. Duganett, Peoria, U. S. Supervisor, Indian Employment, Francis LaFlesche, Omaha, Ethnologist, W. J. Kershaw, Monominee, Attorney-at-Law, Rev. Sherman Collier, Arapaho, President, The Society of American Indians, Hon. E. B. Meritt, Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Thos. L. Sloan, Omaha, Attorney-at-Law, Harold E. Bruce, Winnebago, Clerk, Indian Office, James W. Plake, Potawatomi, Clerk, Indian Office, Miss Lucile Parker, Choctaw, Clerk, Indian Office.
 Sitting, left to right: E. H. Johnson, Chickasaw, Governor Chickasaw Nation, Ruford Bond, Chickasaw, Tribal Attorney, Chickasaw Nation, Hon. Robert L. Owen, Cherokee, U. S. Senator, Hon. Cato Sells, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Hon. Chas. D. Carter, Chickasaw, Member of Congress, Hon. Gabe E. Parker, Choctaw, Register U. S. Treasury, W. W. Hastings, Cherokee, Tribal Attorney Cherokee Nation.
 Center, sitting: Gabe O. Parker, Choctaw.



Educated Indians Are Successful

By HENRY KNOCKSOFTWO (Sioux)

EDUCATION is a word that has many different meanings to our Indian race. I received my education by attending public and government schools, but I realize that the greater part of my education was obtained at the Indian schools, especially at the Carlisle Indian School.

At the start, therefore, I wish to say, to clear up in our minds and in the minds of all young Indians, both boys and girls, that it is better for us to be taken away from the reservation, at least for a time, to attend the government schools provided for us, for this means an opportunity to get a good education along many lines. Of course, it will depend largely, then, upon each boy and girl who has this privilege, how much good will result from the time spent away from the reservation.

While many uninformed persons have been accustomed to point out the usefulness of educating the Indian by basing their contention on the more or less popular belief that no amount of education can prevent the Indian from reverting to the barbaric life of his nation, yet in my own district, among my fellow classmates, who have had this opportunity, all are at least self-respecting citizens, and enough members of the race have made good after having a chance to refute that belief to prove that it is an unfair position to take toward the Indian and his education.

It may be true that many of the Indians fail to capitalize the education so generously provided by the government, and even go back, in a degree, to their natural and original state as soon as the school door closes behind them, preferring to hunt, fish and roam the hills rather than to struggle to obtain a footing in the business world. But for that matter, thousands of civilized white men fail to follow up the education and to profit by the advantages it had given them, and thus they also go back to a lower grade of living.

We Indians who have been educated by the government owe a debt of gratitude which can only be paid by putting into practical use all that we thus have been able to learn.

The foundation of my education, as I have before stated, was received at Carlisle Indian School. This great school was founded for the purpose of giving the Indian a practical training, giving him

not only the knowledge of books, but teaching and emphasizing the dignity and nobility of work.

It is the Indian's duty, as well as his privilege, to receive and then use this opportunity of education.



How to Settle the Problem¹

By CHIEF HENRY ROMAN NOSE, Chief of the Cheyennes

NOW, my brothers and sisters, all the different tribes in this town: I am very glad to see you here. It looks like peace. The first thing, you boys and girls, your parents, your people, send you to school. That is the first thing to get knowing about white man's way, and it is true, and you get knowing, you boys and girls, and you are to be a man and woman and come back home to your people, and you sure what you know and you sure what you to do work by white man's way, and second thing now same way; you get up here and you try to do best you can for your people, and your people watch you what you do, and your people want you to help them; you know how, and your people want you to help them — all tribes in the United States. Now, just like this. These two things; these two ways to live in — bad and good. That is so. Not no more. Just two things we live in. This bad great many things, great many ways, many things bad, and this good, it is pretty hard to get into it. It is very heavy. Now as we go the same as your boys and girls, you knowing your educations. You talk English. I know something about six or seven years ago, if I remember it or not, I see. Some great friend give it to me in great big book called Bible. Long time ago when I was at Hampton Institute. So that big book tell all how you, my friend, white men, settle Indian problem. I don't see you follow it, but I believe Sermon on the Mount, if you follow it, settles all troubles men have with one another. So I read long ago, "Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them, for this is the law and the prophets." Now you try follow that rule, everybody, and nobody have trouble.

¹An address delivered before the Denver Conference.

Book News and Book Talk

"The Indian—A History"

The editor is informed by Warren K. Moorehead, Esq., that he has begun work on his proposed publication, "The Indian—a History." Mr. Moorehead served for six years as a member of the Board of Indian Commissioners, is a director of the Indian Rights Association, and has been engaged in the study of Indians, past and present, for the past thirty years. He intends to prepare and publish a series of volumes on the Indian along the lines of Francis Parkman's publications, with this difference, that he is treating the Indian primarily, and the white persons will appear in the books only as they have had dealings with Indians. In his first volume he intends to take up the work where Helen Hunt Jackson laid it down (in the 80's), and complete "The Century of Dishonor." While this first book is to be as strong as it is possible to make it, it deals with facts, and we are assured that it is in no sense either sensational or sentimental. It is written in order that the blame for the present pitiable condition of the American Indian as a race may be placed where it properly belongs.

Any members of the Society of American Indians who have specific information as to tribal or other matters of national importance may correspond with Mr. Moorehead, as he will be glad to avail himself of evidence and to make use of information, giving due credit for same. His address is Andover, Massachusetts.

The Making of Colorado

In a recent number of "Life" there was a discussion on the topic, "Why Is Delaware?" This little State of only 300,000 souls is burdened by local, municipal, county and State governments, sends a representative and two senators to Washington. That is a mighty thing for 300,000 people to do.

No one dare ask the *why of Colorado*, whose area is so great that with Delaware tucked in a corner of a county, it could hold New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania. Colorado is a State of scenic wonders on plain, plateau and towering peak. Mr. Eugene Parsons, of Denver, a prolific writer, yet an accurate one, has written a most interesting book on "The Making of Colorado" (A. Flanagan & Co., Chicago). It contains the whole story, with all the tales of border romance, mining days, settlement and development. Mr. Parsons is particularly fair in his historical judgment, and deals as fairly with the Indians' story as any writer of whom we know.

Mr. Parsons reported our Denver Conference for the Society of Sons of Colorado, and his interesting paper is published in the November, 1913, issue of "The Trail."

"The Making of Colorado" contains some interesting chapters on the cliff-dwelling Indians and the Utes and Arapahoes. The Sand Creek Fight, the Battle of Beecher Island and the trouble with the Utes suggest some of the more thrilling historical episodes handled in the work.

The Indian's Friend

There are many splendid periodicals published by the various Indian schools of the country, most of them supported in some way by or under the supervision of the Indian Bureau, through the Indian school system. Sometime it is our hope to make a detailed review of these many deserving papers. It is our aim in this paragraph, however, to call attention to *The Indian's Friend*, published by the National Indian Association in New York. The *Friend* is an independent paper and not supported by governmental agencies. Its long period of service may be judged when we find that it is now in its twenty-fourth volume. Very often there are special articles of note, but the aim of the periodical seems to be the publication of news matter demonstrating Indian progress and in advocating progressive measures, quoting its motto, "To aid in civilization, teach industry and give religious instruction to the Indians of our country." We wish that more Indians and friends of the Indians would subscribe for *The Indian's Friend*. The cause would be advanced and a splendid organization assisted in its propaganda. The subscription price is but fifty cents a year, which may be sent to the office of publication at 156 Fifth avenue, New York City.

The Word Carrier

Among the papers that circulate among the Sioux, one stands out as a fearless advocate of that which it believes right. *The Word Carrier*, now in the forty-second volume, is edited by Dr. A. L. Riggs, of Santee, Neb. It is a welcome bi-monthly and finds many advocates among the independent thinkers who have the welfare of the Indian at heart. For thirty cents a year any one may secure this unique treasure among normal school publications, devoted as it is to the Indian and his uplift. The editorial pages are fearless and form a great power in "Helping the right, exposing the wrong." *The Word Carrier* has honestly criticized our own Society, and we thank it for its frankness.

The Robinson Indian Commission Bill

The Robinson Bill "to make more efficient Indian administration, and for other purposes," has as its text the following:

Be it enacted by the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that there is hereby created an Indian Commission, consisting of three members, the present Commissioner of Indian Affairs, who shall be chairman of said commission, and the title of whose position shall be that of Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and he shall receive a salary of \$7,500 per annum; the present Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs shall be the second member of said commission, at a salary of \$5,000 per annum, and the title of his position shall be that of First Assistant Commissioner, and he shall be the acting commissioner during the absence of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs; the third member of said commission shall be an experienced educator with industrial equipment and administrative experience, and the title of his position shall be Assistant Commissioner, who shall be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and approval of the Senate, and he shall receive a salary of \$5,000 per annum. The said assistant commissioner shall be the acting commissioner during the absence of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and the first assistant commissioner. The said commissioners shall hold office for a period of six years from the approval of this Act, unless sooner removed for cause by the President, and shall be eligible for re-appointment for a like term. Vacancies in said commission shall be filled by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. The office of Second Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs is hereby changed to that of chief clerk, and said official shall receive a salary of \$3,000 per annum.

Sec. 2. That there is hereby devolved upon said commission all the authority and administrative and other duties relating to Indian affairs heretofore, herein, or otherwise vested by law in any other official or officials, said authority and duties to be exercised and performed under such rules and regulations as may be prescribed by the chairman of said commission.

Sec. 3. That the chairman of said commission be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to appoint not to exceed three men at salaries not to exceed \$3,000 each per annum, qualified by legal and sociological training, as well as by acquaintance with Indian affairs and needs, to study the laws governing and the circumstances affect-

ing the various tribes, groups, and classes of Indians in the United States, and the chairman of said commission shall report within one year after the passage of this Act, (a) a determination of the legal status of the Indians of the United States by reservations or tribes; (b) a digest of important decisions in Indian cases, or important cases directly affecting Indian interests; (c) a draft of a codified law covering existing legislation and proposing new or remedial legislation looking toward the future best interests of the Indians under the jurisdiction of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

Sec. 4. That the chairman of said commission shall submit to the President, the Senate, and the House of Representatives, on or before the first Monday in December of each year, a detailed report relating to Indian Affairs and accompanied by such recommendations as said commission shall deem proper to submit. Each of said commissioners shall be paid his necessary traveling expenses incurred in the discharge of his duties as a commissioner. There is hereby appropriated out of the Treasury a sufficient sum to pay the salaries of said officials as herein provided.

Sec. 5. That all Acts and parts of Acts in conflict herewith are hereby repealed.

The Affirmative Argument

The Robinson Bill should become a law,

(1) Because the proposed Robinson law, if enacted, will place definitely the responsibility of Indian administration in the hands of three officials, under the direction of the Chairman of the Indian Commission, provided in the bill, instead of the present condition which places the responsibility for Indian administration in the hands of a large number of officials who are constantly being changed and who are frequently without definite knowledge of Indian administration or Indian affairs generally.

(2) Under the existing law the authority over Indian affairs is largely divided, with unfortunate administrative results; for example, recommendations are made to the Department by the Commissioner, the Assistant Commissioner, and the Second Assistant Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and those recommendations are handled in the Department by the Secretary of the Interior, the First Assistant Secretary of the Interior, the Assistant Secretary of the Interior, the Assistant Attorney-General for the Interior Department, and a number of law clerks and attorneys in the Department. This condition brings about confusion, conflicting authority, non-uniformity of action and long delays before final action is taken.

(3) During the past five years there have been three Secretaries of the Interior, three First Assistant Secretaries of the Interior, three

Assistant Secretaries of the Interior, three Assistant Attorney-Generals for the Interior Department, three Commissioners of Indian Affairs, and three Assistant Commissioners of Indian Affairs. Indian laws, treaties and administration are so complicated that it is impossible for any official to acquire anything like accurate and definite knowledge of these subjects within the present short term of his office. As a result Indian affairs are being administered, directed and controlled by officials without definite and accurate knowledge of the subjects which they handle, and because of the large number of officials who are responsible for the work there is lack of continuity of purpose and policy, resulting in waste of Government funds and poor administration.

(4) The Robinson Bill provides for codifying Indian laws and the compilation of Indian decisions. The present Indian laws are a hopeless maize of technicalities, scattered throughout a large number of appropriation acts and special acts, with the result that but few officials really know what the Indian laws and decisions consist of, and it is impossible for the public to obtain anything like a definite knowledge regarding this subject. The Robinson Bill, if enacted, would bring about uniformity of laws and make accessible the laws and decisions so that they could be available in convenient form for officials in the Indian Service as well as the public at large.

(5) The Robinson Bill, if enacted, would enable the officials charged with the responsibility and duty of Indian administration to remain in office six years, a term sufficiently long to carry out definite policies, and would enable them to produce beneficial results.

(6) The Robinson Bill would result in economy to the Government and would expedite business. The present method of handling Indian business results in long delays before final administrative action is taken. It is estimated that it requires from 15 to 20 per cent. of the time of the clerical force and officials of the Indian Bureau in preparing papers and letters for transmission three blocks away to the Interior Department for administrative action, when they should be acted upon finally and definitely in the Indian Bureau. This useless practice costs the Government thousands of dollars for unnecessary clerical work and results in long delays, confusion in administration and lack of definite responsibility. It is an actual fact that hundreds of cases have been held at the Department for from six months to two years after being submitted by the Indian Bureau with definite recommendations before final action by the Interior Department.

(7) The Robinson Bill would enable Congress to obtain definite and accurate information regarding Indian administration and the

Congress and the President could demand satisfactory results, and if these results could not be obtained they could insist on changes in administrative officials charged with the responsibility of Indian administration.

(8) In short, the Robinson Bill would simplify administration, eliminate useless red tape, make more direct responsibility for satisfactory results, would expedite business, would reduce the cost of Indian administration, would enable the administrative officials of the Indian Bureau to remain in office for a sufficient length of time to become thoroughly familiar with their duties and work out and carry out definite policies, would bring about increased efficiency, would result in less gratuity appropriations for the Indian Service, and would make more direct the control over Indian affairs by the Congress and the President.

(9) The present method of handling Indian administration has resulted in the past in scandal, waste of public funds, and the Indians have been robbed outrageously. They have been the victims of incompetent officials who neglected their interests and even cooperated with white grafters. Notwithstanding Congress has appropriated \$80,000,000 since 1875 for the education of Indians, there are to-day practically 10,000 Indians without school facilities. Notwithstanding Congress has provided from \$8,000,000 to \$12,000,000 annually for a long period of years to enable the Secretary of the Interior to guard and protect the property rights of the Indians, they have been robbed unmercifully of their property and thousands of them are to-day dying in squalor from preventable diseases. It is estimated that the death rate among Indians is three times higher than among whites. It is also estimated that there are more than 50,000 Indians in the United States suffering with trachoma — such a dreadful disease that immigrants coming to the United States, if afflicted in any way with this disease, are prevented from landing here and are returned to their native land. Notwithstanding the 300,000 Indians of the country own an area as large as the New England States and New York combined, and notwithstanding Congress has appropriated large sums of money for farmers and for industrial purposes, the Indians as a result of the past inefficient Indian administration are farming but little of their land and are making use of but little of their natural resources. The Indians of the country own nearly \$100,000,000 worth of timber, yet there are nearly 50,000 Indians who are living on dirt floors and in tents, under sanitary conditions that are a disgrace to Indian administration. It is practically impossible for the Government under the present laws and complex conditions, lack of definite responsibility and

the constant changing of officials, to bring about materially improved conditions in Indian administration. It is believed that if the Robinson Bill is enacted into law these deplorable conditions can be remedied, the Indians of the country made to utilize their natural resources, their health conditions improved, and their property rights protected. Unless there is a change in the present organization of Indian administration it is practically impossible to bring about prosperity and successful conditions among the Indians, and notwithstanding the earnest efforts put forth by the present Indian officials their hard work will result in practical failure unless legislative relief is extended by Congress.



Who Have Been the Consistent Friends?

Since the very beginning of this nation the Indians have had staunch and unselfish friends. To these friends of the white race they owe largely their lives, property and future happiness. It was George Washington who pledged the honor of the United States to the protection and advancement of the native American. Following him have been many others who bravely defended the Indians on the floors of Congress. In later years there were many loyal Quakers, missionaries and citizens. Since the days of the Civil War we have had men like Felix R. Brunot, Herbert Welsh, Bishop Hare, Bishop Whipple, Bishop Walker, Gen. R. H. Pratt, Col. J. S. Lockwood, Henry L. Dawes, Matthew K. Sniffen and others. Each has stood for a particular policy and each has wrought changes. To-day we have Prof. F. A. McKenzie, of Ohio State University, as the exponent of the policy of developing the Indian from the inside. Professor McKenzie gathers his figures, studies them, and from an intimate knowledge of the people themselves, has written with a clearness and a force so definite and so just that many who are blinded by small details fail to see the great breadth of his ideas. We may not forget the earnest women who have given their lives in the service of the Indian — women like Helen H. Jackson and Amelia S. Quinton. Then, there are the many who labored, and who now serve in the schools, the missions and in the service of the government. The Indian is not friendless. We believe that quiet, earnest men like the present Commissioner, Judge Sells, and Assistant Commissioner, E. B. Meritt, will not fail us. Mr. Meritt is a quiet but forceful worker, who has saved for the Indians millions of dollars in money and properties.

The Open Forum

Senator Owen Inspires Confidence

The Godfrey letter published in our last volume, No. 3, contained some alleged references to the court records of Oklahoma, casting a shadow upon the business integrity of Senator Owen. We entitled Mr. Godfrey's remarks, "Does Godfrey Tell the Truth? Some Suggestions for an Oklahoma Investigation." Until now no one has written the editor answering the question or mentioning any investigation. We are therefore pleased to print a letter of denial from some of the officials of the Society of American Indians. The editor would print a letter about himself if he had received one like the offending Godfrey epistle, and then, if it was a falsehood, would answer it as it deserved. Godfrey is accused of being a political tool in the hands of Senator Owen's enemies. Senator Owen is said to have refuted statements of any questionable transactions with Indians, during his last campaign. The citizens of Oklahoma re-elected Mr. Owen, giving him thousands of votes ahead of his party. Our work is not one with personal enmity in mind; it is one that seeks the highest good to the greatest number of American Indians, and, therefore, the good of the country. If Mr. Godfrey wilfully perverted the truth and his political backers were gross enough to stoop to falsifying, it is they who are injured, and not Mr. Owen. The crook, the slanderer, the false witness, the extortionist, are all their own worst enemies, and nothing that they may do to injure others by such methods can equal the harm they do themselves, for there is an immutable law of compensation and re-action.

Pursuant of our claim to a free platform, we publish the letter found below:

WASHINGTON, D. C., February 20, 1914.

Senator ROBERT L. OWEN, *United States Senate*:

DEAR SIR.—We, the undersigned members of the Executive Council of the Society of American Indians, regret the appearance of the Godfrey letter in the last issue of the JOURNAL of the Society attacking your private record. We believe it was inspired by your political enemies, and regard the publication of it in our JOURNAL as an indiscretion, and an injustice to you.

In view of the exalted purpose of our Society to be of constructive benefit to the Indian and society generally, we deplore this incident, and beg to assure you of our continued confidence and respect.

Very respectfully,

SHERMAN COOLIDGE, *President.*

WM. J. KERSHAW, *First Vice-President.*

CHAS. E. DAGENETT, *Second Vice-President.*

Senator Owen, thus, is tendered a humble apology, and the editor is duly rebuked by his superior officials.

Senator Owen evidently believes that we have seriously injured, or attempted to injure, his reputation, for a recent letter concerning the matter states that Mr. Owen has "not the slightest intention of paying any attention whatever in the way of a response to the odious calumny which you were so thoughtless as to give currency. Any self-respecting journal should ascertain, before libeling a public man, the responsibility of the author and the justification of the charge."

Mr. Owen "answered, before the people of Oklahoma, the false statements edited and fathered by this mercenary wretch, and received from Oklahoma an overwhelming vindication. There is but one thing that your journal can do to restore itself to the respect of decent people, and that is to make an unqualified apology."

Good Advice from the Sioux Country

To the Society of American Indians:

HAVING received a copy of your QUARTERLY JOURNAL, and after a careful consideration of its contents, it compels me to inform the Society of its dues, of deserving gratitude for their plans, and the future outlook of the organization. I believe that it is the only substantial foundation of a system that will be for the betterment of the Indian in general, and that it should be the duty of every individual that possesses a drop of Indian blood to take pride and sufficient interest in it to promote success, as it means our future welfare.

We have been in need of such an organization for many years past, to correct the mistakes and unjust dealings that we often are compelled to take, and I believe that as a people, if we desire to be represented, we must first represent ourselves and form a permanent society, through which we can properly be represented and present our just demands.

Some of the former systems of managing the Indians, with their possessions, such as lands and moneys, have been unjust, and it is such obstacles that hinder our progress and future welfare. The Indian should have his just dues from the government, and the form of obtaining these just dues should be modified or made simple, so that he need not go through a whole string of red tape trying to get it.

We have here on the Pine Ridge Reservation a form for obtaining a patent-in-fee called "non-competent patent." Now these non-competent patents are given to people supposed to be incompetent to manage their own affairs, and this system has been forced upon a good many competent people. I believe this is a disgrace and a shame, both to the imposed and the imposer. It shows that in the years past someone has neglected his duty, and it is the one that is supposed to be our superior and instructor. If he had taken pains and done his duty justly, there would be no need of this system. Such systems as this have an inclination to make the Indians helpless, and to have no faith or confidence in himself. He should be given his dues, and be put out on his own resources, and he would be more apt to make good, for I have noticed in the Indian, that the more confidence that is put in him, the more you can expect of him. And it is therefore that I say that the Society of American Indians has taken the proper step of organizing such an association of American Indians.

I think it is time that we stop this depending on our pale-face friends, and commence depending upon ourselves, as the little motto reads, "Self-help alone gives strength." If we ever expect to be a people with the people, and as strong as our white friends, it is high time we were helping ourselves; and if we help ourselves God will be just and merciful to help us, as He "helps those who help themselves."

There have been former organizations of all sorts, but they have failed to prove that they had the interests of the Indian at heart, and the Indian has suffered loss financially, and has been set back in his progress for the sake of the almighty dollar; and for this reason, I believe, the Indian has not grasped the opportunities that the Society offers in joining the Society. But I hope that it will be properly and openly revealed, so that they may see and understand that it is for their future benefit, and join the Society.

In regard to the Indians as citizens, it seems that the laws are not plain regarding the citizenship of the Indian, and there is much room for argument as to whether they should have a right to vote

and should pay taxes. The question of citizenship of the American Indian has always caused much discussion, and while there have been lots of treaties and laws made affecting their citizenship, with a large per cent of the Indians the question is not definitely settled yet. Many of the tribes, or parts of tribes, have been made citizens by treaty or law, and yet the general law applying to all Indians is so obscure that a number of interpretations may be given to it. I believe, with the assistance of the Society of American Indians, that we would be able to get a definite general law through Congress, stating what Indians were citizens and what were not.

The main thing is to have the matter settled one way or the other, so that the Indians, as well as those having dealings with them, will know for certain "where they are at," as under present conditions the county and State officers are at a loss to know just what authority they have over the Indians, and the Indian does not know whether to go to the superintendent of the reservation or the State authorities with his grievances.

Now you can plainly see that by such incomplete regulations and laws as these that no progress can be expected from the Indian. He should be given a full-fledged citizenship or a definite standard to refer to. We are in need of many such necessities, and the only way to obtain them is to unite as one tribe under the name of the Society of American Indians, and every man to the wheel of this organization will bring our just reward.

Very truly,

EDWARD STOVER.

Pine Ridge Agency, South Dakota,

January 23, 1914.

A Frank, Friendly Letter and a Reply

Dear Mr. Editor:

Your letter of the second of the present month duly at hand, and read with varying feelings. First, I have been undecided about continuing my affiliations with a society that has said, in effect, that all the employees of the Indian Department are dishonest. Under date of April 15 I received a letter from your worthy President, Reverend Sherman Coolidge, asking me to write my views on the subject-matter of the *QUARTERLY JOURNAL*. I answered him under date of April 27, saying, among other things, that I had faith in the Indians, and that I also had faith in the good intentions of the government and in the field force of its employees among the Indians. I will say that I still have this faith, and to receive the condemnation

of the Society, as it was delivered by various speakers in the second annual conference, makes one of those employees feel that he cannot be in strict harmony with the Society. I have been employed in the field work among the Indians for the last six years, two of which have been as a bonded official in charge of this reservation. A field official has a great many real troubles to contend with, and when a membership in the S. A. I. makes one more matter in which strict accord cannot be maintained, then he had better stop any affiliation therewith. I am in harmony with the aim of the Society. I believe that it was organized by men that wanted the welfare of the Indians, but I also believe that it admitted to its membership men who had a very poor record behind them to show that their sole aim in the Society was the uplift of the Indian people. I can form my opinions only from the periodicals, but if they print slanderous things which the parties interested can not, or will not, refute, then it would seem to be a true tale. This feeling, coupled with the wholesale condemnation of the field employees, caused me to determine to sever my relations with the Society. I have done so by not sending my dues nor subscribing for the JOURNAL. I supposed that my failing to come up with the financial part of membership would cause me to be dropped from the rolls of the Society, as it should. This is my grievance against the Society, and my reasons for not considering myself a member at the present time.

Referring to your letter, I will say that I have looked at the matter in a new light. I believe in the work the Society can do, and also believe it will see its errors of the past and avoid them in the future. There are a great many men in the Indian Service who are held there more by a missionary spirit than by the salary which they receive. From a personal standpoint, I will say that I am in the Indian work more because I can see a chance to be of real and lasting benefit to the Indians with whom I come in contact than because of the salary which I receive. Men of no greater ability, in commercial pursuits, are making double the salary which I receive. There are numerous soul-grinding matters which one avoids in commercial life, and which weary one of well doing, if they be frequent enough. On their account, I have seriously considered leaving the service for other employment.

In the last number of THE QUARTERLY JOURNAL I read an article entitled, "Lo, the Poor Indian Agent." I feel that the man who wrote this had a fair knowledge of the situation. However, he says some things therein with which I cannot agree. I believe that the great majority of the agents are honest, and that the great majority

of them are in the Indian work for the same reason that I am — the desire to do good to the Indians. I know the route is difficult and hard; that the agent is "done up in a net" of laws and regulations; that he cannot display any individualism in his work; but I also know that in his relations with the Indians under his charge he can have a great deal of influence. There are some of the Indians who do not agree with him. There are many others who will call him "crooked," but, in the main, if he is a man worth anything, his influence will count for the uplift of the Indians who come into contact with him. That is where he has a chance to exercise his missionary spirit, and a better incentive cannot be found for any job. I feel that the writer was not entirely just to the men who occupy the positions under discussion, or in giving to the government its due in regard to its intentions toward the Indians.

In conclusion, I will say that I have a sort of creed. It would read somewhat as follows:

"I believe in humanity in general, and in its component parts. I believe that the various races are integral parts of that humanity. I believe in the organizations of humanity's societies, for the uplift of that society. I believe all parts of the body, politic and social, are benefited by what benefits any one part. I believe that the vast majority of humans are honest and conscientious, and that no part of them is better nor worse than the average of the rest. For this reason, society has laws, made to remedy defects, though they may be illogical, hasty, or otherwise unsuited to gain the end sought for, but still prompted by the right spirit. I believe there are exceptions to all laws, and the exceptions where laws are prompted by desire for gain, which would be harmful to mankind, in part or in general, simply prove the rule to be true. I believe in the Indians; I believe in the good intentions of the government toward those Indians; I believe in the body of employees who are spending their lives in rude surroundings for inadequate salaries, in administering the affairs of the Indians under the direction of the government. I believe in all the organizations working for the uplift of the lower strata of society, of whatever nature. They all aim high, make mistakes, are human in their administration, because composed of humans and working for human cause, without clear light, but all prompted by that human attribute of wanting to help in the development of the human race and to see it reach that state of perfection to which it is entitled, and, hence, all are to be commended in their purpose, condemned in their mistakes, but never to be discouraged

from further effort in behalf of the cause which called them into being."

Very respectfully,

OMAR L. BABCOCK.

*Colorado River Indian School,
Parker, Arizona, January 9, 1914.*

WASHINGTON, D. C., January 23, 1914.

Mr. OMAR L. BABCOCK, *Colorado River Agency, Parker, Arizona:*

MY DEAR MR. BABCOCK.—I have read your letter of January 9th, just received, with a great amount of interest, and am constrained to say that I am most profoundly indebted to you for the very frank statement which you have made. I wish that all my friends might express themselves as clearly and with equal evidence of good faith.

For the first time I am aware that an impression may have been created to the effect that employees of the Indian Department by the wholesale were dishonest. I did not get this impression at the Second Conference, notwithstanding what was said. The Society does not necessarily endorse or promulgate the expressions of individual Indians made at a conference. If we restricted them or refused critics to voice their sentiments, you can see that greater dissatisfaction would be created. As a matter of fact, if those who might say good things would be equally active with those who criticise adversely, a better represented opinion might be obtained. During the Third Conference at Denver University I asked from the desk whether or not it was the opinion of the employees of the government present that the Society was hostile to the Indian in that service. The reply from those who were best qualified to answer was that this was not the case, and that they understood perfectly the circumstances that led to criticism. I cannot understand, therefore, how you received the impression that the Society had anything to do with the "wholesale condemnation of field employees." I can only say that it appears that some one has assiduously been spreading this notion.

It appears that the best results can be obtained by discussing our differences openly and with candor, and for that reason we are as willing to give publicity to your views as we are to those who have sometimes criticised the results of the failure of unfortunately situated people. I think most of our friends understand that it is not our intention to discourage or injure the reputation of good men, or to say that the government in its ultimate attempt is not looking

to the real advancement of the Indian. I recognize, as many of my colleagues do, that the position of superintendent or special agent is no light task, and that difficulties beset the incumbent at every turn. If you have no objections, I should like to print your letter in our Open Forum, but shall not do so without asking you upon what terms you wish to be quoted, as superintendent or an individual.

Very respectfully,

ARTHUR C. PARKER,

Secretary-Treasurer.

TREASURER'S REPORT

Summarized from Auditor's Detailed Sheet

Fiscal Year September 30, 1912 - September 30, 1913

Received from membership dues..	\$1,075.00	Printing Journal No. 1.....	\$171.15
Received from donations, cash..	476.93	Advertising.....	10.00
Received from donations, for Journal.....	150.00	Postage.....	191.27
Received from donations, Denver Association.....	1,000.00	Essay contest prizes.....	10.00
Received from subscriptions to Journal.....	169.70	Sundries.....	40.49
Received from sale of buttons...	71.20		
	<u>\$2,942.83</u>	Deficit.....	<u>\$2.26</u>
DISBURSEMENTS.			
Office rent, Washington, 3 months	\$37.50	OUTSTANDING INDEBTEDNESS, OCT. 1, 1913.	
Salaries.....	792.32	Secretary's salary, five months, at \$166.66...	\$833.30
Telegrams and express.....	50.76	Less rebate.....	333.30
Deficit paid, reported by Auditor for 1911-12.....	54.29		<u>\$500.00</u>
Secretary's salary, on account, 1 month 1 week.....	195.00	Stenographic services.....	169.70
Traveling.....	419.82	Rental.....	25.00
Supplies.....	73.59	Printing.....	507.60
Loans returned.....	561.24		<u>\$1,262.30</u>
Printing.....	212.10	Total indebtedness.....	<u>\$1,262.30</u>
Society buttons.....	125.50		



